

CO 822/97/12
1

1939

46597/IB

EAST AFRICA

46597/IB

Italian Occupation of Ethiopia
Kenya

5
1240

Treatment of Refugees and Deserters.

Previous

1938

Subsequent

see 46597/1/39 Secret

1940.

98

46597

46597/15

1. F.O. J.31/28/1 5.1.39.
Fds. copy despp. from H.M.R. Cairo, No.1334 of 18th December, and No.1358 of 22nd December, regarding the desire of Ato Maasho to enter the Sudan.

Action also
on 1938 file

+ all cels
Not ? Copy Co Kenya Lf. ref (4))
on -/38. There seems to be
no need to say anything
further to Miss Pankhurst
about this in view of (50) & (51)
on -/38

Nos 52 & 53 on -/38

draft submitted for comment.

Clarke White

19/1

Ed Lloyd
10/1/39

Brown
10/1

2 Miss Pankhurst - 8/0 - 17/2/39

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

3 Colin Pankhurst - 8/0 - 20/1/39

M.M.
19.1.39

MR. PASKIN.

2 The first paragraph of the Secretary of State's letter to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was slightly altered in view of her letter of the 17th January which had just been received.

As regards Mr. Hidaru's brother (or rather cousin) I do not know whether there is anything

anything that can be done by us, but perhaps you would consider this and let me know what can be said to Miss Pankhurst.² I think the further reply to her on this point might be sent by me as Private Secretary.

G. Geary.

21st January, 1939.

? as in Draft herewith, that to Kenya replacing the LF Directed above.

Clertigululu
28/1

4 Miss Pankhurst ——— 21/1/39

Enquires inter alia about possibility of Ethiopian settlement in territories other than Kenya & Br. Som.

? The Draft to Miss Pankhurst should be amended to include a statement that the Sops. is bearing constantly in mind the possibility of some land being found to be available in Africa on which the Ethiopians can be settled. This would be both accurate and also in line

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

with the present policy of refraining from
attempting to organize small group &
settlements (see minutes of 2/11/38 on 7/38)

Clark White

7/2

I am afraid that, owing to a
succession of calamities this has
got buried under an accumulation
of work in the Dept.

As regards No 4, I think we
had better ignore the general
refugee V. (we have said enough
to Miss Bankhurst already), &
reply only as regards Mr. Hadam's
brother.

sd.

J. J. Barmie
10/2

5. J. J. Barmie (50) - answered - 23.2.39

6. Kenya 115. (w/c. sub. m. 1). 20.2.39
(47 on 1938 answered.)

~~58~~

Cheque in R. 98.

7. Abyssinian Refugees Relief Fund 15.2 .39.
Encloses cheques - one for £50 for children's work amongst Abyssinian Refugees in British S'land; and one for £100 for women's and children's clinic in Kenya. (copy on 4604/42/39 S'land.)
8. Governor. Kenya. No.102. 14.2.39.
Fds. copy of further statement giving detail of expenditure during 1938 of funds made available for relief of Abyssinian refugees.

5

Sir Sidney Barton saw Mr Freeman
on Friday 24/2. From a long
talk two main points emerged.

(1) The main source of funds for the ARRF is the British Red X Society who still have a lot of the money collected during the Italo-Abyssinian war. They are however reluctant to fritter it away on maintaining refugees from day to day, & would prefer to use it on some more lasting work, eg. a hospital. Sir Sidney Barton asked, in effect, to be provided with "ammunition" with which to secure a continued flow of supplies from the Red X for the Bristol camp. He was told that when asking (7) we would give him x/+ in (8).

(2) Sir Sidney Barton is quite certain that it will never be possible to get the refugees to go back to Abyssinia. An "African nationalist consciousness" is developing, which both defies the Italian Govt in Ethiopia & makes it important for us to do well by the refugees & thus avoid antagonising 'African' opinion.

Neeraj Chandra
13/3/39

T.T. Dept should see

Drafts submitted (ab. we £50 for
Pr. Som. is being dealt with separately)

Charles White 27/2

9

To: CA. {by cheque £100.
F/2 LST 10 N.P.B.K.}

9.3.39

6

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

10

To: H.Pee. Abyssinian Refugee Relief Fund. — 9.3.39.

11

To: Kenya 160. (w/c. 10) - 8 bound. 9.3.39

12

12. Crown Agents. 10.3.39.
Acks. cheque enclosed in No.9.

IT DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

Put by Clatworthy 13/3 at once

CW.

13

Gov. Deputy. Kenya 179 — 14.3.39.
Acks the further gift of £100 from A.R.R.F.

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

See § 1 of 10

? put by

Clatworthy

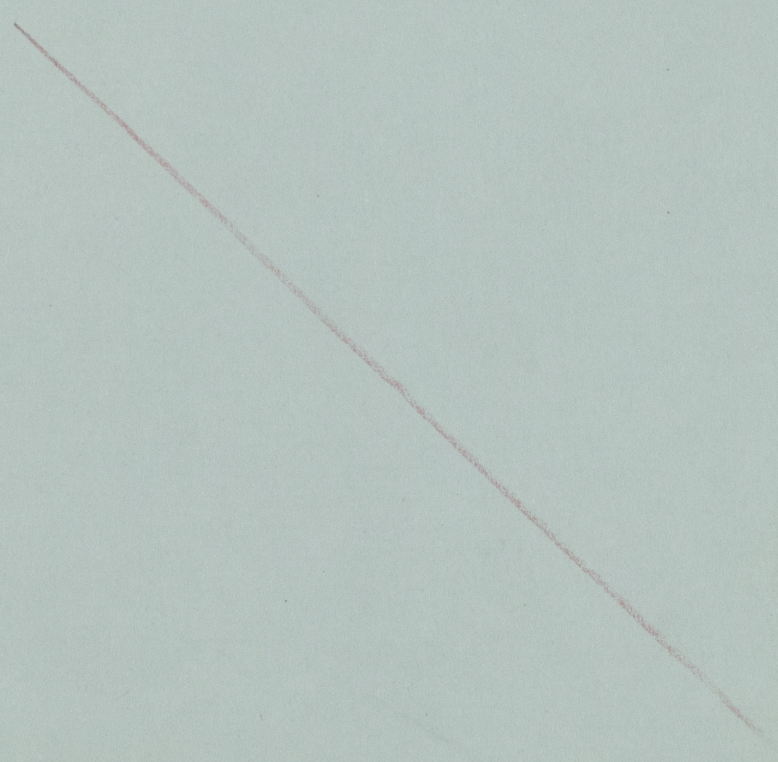
27/3

J.J. Cassini

30/3

at once

CW.



Mr. Paskin.

14 Here is a further letter from Miss Pankhurst about the brother of Mr. Hidaru and his journey from Kenya to the Sudan. Would you be kind enough to let me know what more can be said to Miss Pankhurst?

15 I have told Miss Pankhurst that the other case to which she refers is one for the Foreign Office rather than for us. This case was raised yesterday in a letter from Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., to the S. of S., and I have likewise referred him to the Foreign Office.

G. Creany

14/4/39.

No 6 was the last we heard of this.

Sh.

Clorke White
17/4

17 To Arthur Henderson Mr. _____
DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

17/4/38

P.T.O.

Mr. Costley white

8

Mr. Paskin.

16

I attach a letter to the S. of S. from
Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., about the wish of Mr. Hidar
to have his brother with him in the Sudan.

I should be grateful if you would advise what
further reply Mr. MacDonald might send to this letter.
Perhaps the one to this Parliament will suffice?

Greary.

17/4/39.

18 To Mrs Pankhurst. 20-4.39.

Additional Draft to Mr Henderson submitted
Clark White

19 To Mr. Henderson 18/4 19 ansd. 20-4.39

20 To: Kenya 27/7. (w/c. dated 14, 16, 18, + 19). A/I. 25. 4. 39

21 Mrs Pankhurst. 21. 4. 39.

In reply to 18, encloses copies C.O. - Cttv.
at no 5. + rpt. from Cttv from Mr.
Hidaru.

? put by

Clark White

28/4

F.J. Pedler

29.4

at once

22. Kenya. No. 284. 10.5.39.
States Ata Maasho has arranged to leave
Nairobi for Juba on 29th May, and that
Govt. of Sudan has been informed of arrange-
ments made.

? as in 2 drafts conon H.W.

Kid Blodden

19.5.39.

The reason for saying that Mr. Maashu
is the cousin, not the brother, of Mr.
Hidaru, is that the fact weakens
the contention that the Govts have
acted cruelly in keeping the two
Knismen apart

F.J. Pedler

20/5

23. Sir R. Brooke-Popham. s/o 8.5.39.
States he has recd. communication from Miss Pankhurst requesting permission for one of English women working in the refugee camp to write articles on the camp for the "New Times and Ethiopia News". Requests advice.

24. To Mr. Arthur Henderson. s/o 24.5.39.
25. To Miss Pankhurst s/o 24.5.39.

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

(23) No copy of this paper is available here,
so I have ordered a copy from Establishments.
It may take a day or two to come, so
I submit a draft interim reply.

KW Blakely

25.5.39

Mr. Pedler

You said that an interim reply need not go to Sir R. Brooke-Popham if we could reply properly in the near future.

2. I now attach a copy of a recent issue of the 'New Times and Ethiopia News'. We have no previous information about this paper, but it is not difficult to see from this copy that it is a scurrilous rag and I do not think that any encouragement should be given to Miss Pankhurst's suggestion

that

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DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

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25.5.39

Mr. Creary

No 23.

You are probably in a better position than anybody else to say how seriously Miss Pankhurst is taken in the Private Secretary's Office.

Mr. Pedler

You said that an interim reply need not go to Sir R. Brooke-Popham if we could reply properly in the near future.

2. I now attach a copy of a recent issue of the 'New Times and Ethiopia News'. We have no previous information about this paper, but it is not difficult to see from this copy that it is a scurrilous rag and I do not think that any encouragement should be given to Miss Pankhurst's suggestion that

that a correspondent in Isiolo Refugee Camp should be allowed to write articles for it.

3. The marked passages in this copy of the paper read like the Arab rebel communiqués in Palestine - enormous figures of Government casualties etc. - and do not agree with the accounts which we receive from the F.O.

4. There is little doubt that however much Isiolo articles may be censored in Kenya, they would be highly coloured by the time that they appeared in this paper and would give the Italians an excellent chance of protesting against false English propaganda. Moreover, as the Governor says, any abuse of Italy which might be put in the mouths of refugees by Miss Pankhurst would react on them if and when they return to Abyssinia.

5. Miss Pankhurst herself has written to the Secretary of State several times about refugees. The Secretary of State has always replied himself - 40 in -/38 and 3 in -/39. But Mr. Creasy can perhaps say with how much respect she is regarded.

6. The question arises as to how Kenya can prevent this correspondent sending articles to Miss Pankhurst's paper. Mr. Sabine tells me that the Government have a working arrangement with regular Press correspondents whereby any important Press telegram is shown to the Secretariat before despatch, but there is no legal justification for this. Moreover, there is no way of checking up on articles sent through the post, which is the method of communication which would be used in this case as the 'New Times' is a weekly paper.

7. "In an emergency" the Governor may

impose

Copy written.

impose a censorship on the local Press - Cap.180 - but the only provision in the law for censorship for outgoing Press messages, both telegraphed and posted, is in Section 27 of the Post Office Ordinance, which can only be applied "in an emergency" and is therefore no use in this case.

8. On the whole I think that we must leave this matter very much to the Governor.

? Reply saying that we do not know very much about this paper but that it does contain a great deal of anti-Italian propaganda and that we would certainly like to prevent articles being sent to it from Isiolo if there is any way in which this control can be exercised.

W.B. Shilline

31.5.1939

Mr Creasy.

I understand that you have sent an interim reply to No.23. You are probably in a better position than anyone else to say how seriously this Pankhurst is taken in the P.S. Office.

? say that the paper (as Sir R. B.P. will be aware) contains a great deal of ~~exaggerated~~ anti-Italian propaganda, much of which appears to consist of over-statements of fact. There is little doubt that, however much the Isiolo articles might be removed in Kenya, the newspaper would continue to present them in a highly coloured manner which might give the Italians some ground for complaining of false British propaganda. As the Governor says, any abuse of Italy which might be put into the mouths of the

refugees by Miss Pankhurst would react to their detriment if and when they return to Abyssinia. From the political point of view in London, there is no reason for deviating from a strict regard for the public interest for the purpose of sweetening Miss Pankhurst. There is no objection, therefore, to the Governor finding some excuse for refusing permission for the articles: though it is rather difficult to see how he can stop the sending of articles through the post for publication anonymously. Admittedly this would not be open to quite the same objection as the publication of articles above the signature of a person who is working at the refugee camp more or less under Govt auspices

F.J. Pedler
1.6.39

Mr. Creasy

Mr. Cavendish Bentinck of the Foreign Office says that the F.O. would have no objection to steps being taken to prevent the lady from contributing the articles, provided that it is done as tactfully and as unobtrusively as possible. I submit draft for your consideration.

F.J. Pedler

Thanks,

Creasy

2.6.39.

3/6/39.

27

To. Sir. R-Brooke Popham. — (23 and). 50 - 9 June 1939

14

note cr.
(ministry do)

301 to note

29/1

46597/10

15

Mr. Beckett.
Mr. Hooper
Mr. Hooper

M. Beckett 22/5
M. Hibbert

Mr. Hooper of the Foreign Office rang up a few days ago and said that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had received from Dr. Martin, who was in the former Abyssinian Legation in London, a letter suggesting that the Abyssinian refugees numbering between 5,000 and 6,000 in Kenya and Somaliland should be settled in Dominica. These refugees, Mr. Hooper thought, would be of the landlord and not the peasant cultivator class.

I told Mr. Hooper that I thought we might have strong objections on political and economic grounds to any such proposal and that we were in fact considering a suggestion which had been made that European refugees should be settled in Dominica. If it were found possible to introduce settlers into Dominica on any sort of scale I felt that European refugees would have to be given preference over Abyssinian refugees. I said that we should wish to be consulted if the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was going to do otherwise than send a discouraging reply. Mr. Hooper promised to bear this in mind but as I have not heard anything further from him I assume that a discouraging reply was in fact sent.

* It is pretty evident from a document that this will not be possible. JH

Mr. Brown
Kenya Dept

? Resister & Mary
L. G. M. 18.5.39.

Perhaps Dr. Martin is confusing Dominica with the Dominican Republic! JH 24/5

What next?

Received 18/5
A. L. M. 19/5
Jm.

The Moon?

At. M. 20.5- atone

28. Extract from letter, with encl. from the Governor of Kenya, to the S. of S. Dated 5th April, 1939.
 DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE (orig. on 38402/39 Kenya)

29. Extract from letter from the S. of S. to the Governor of Kenya dated 5.5.39. (in answer to No.28)
 DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE (orig. on 38402/39 Kenya)

30. To Mr. Arthur Henderson. s/o 24.5.39.
 DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

31. To Miss Pankhurst s/o 24.5.39.
 DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

32. Miss Pankhurst. s/o 26.5.39.
 Acks. No.31.

Mr. C. Bentinck, F.O., suggested some of the haughty warriors among the refugees might be recruited for the body-guards of Indian princes who prefer non-Indians. I phone Mr. Patrick, I.O.. He said there are indeed such body guards but I.O. have been trying to get them abolished for years, and anyhow would not be prepared to press Indian princes to recruit persons whom we are not prepared to recruit for our own armed forces. The same idea was "tried on" for the Assyrians.

Put by

F.J. Pedley

16.6.39

at once

See Notes
 Under No 27.

33. E.M. Tweed.

27.6.39.

Asks for an explanation as to why the refugees are being kept at the expense of the British Govt.

34. Extract from "Daily Telegraph" -

27.6.39.

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

The unsent letter at
(33) follows out of the
pamphlet account in the
J.T. at (34) of the life
of Hyacinth in the camp
at Isido.

In this connection
vide the Brief attached
behind the 1938 file,
where the true position
with regard to Isido (as
we know it) is set out
at p. 10-11. It is
not much help when
inaccurate articles of this
kind appear in papers
such as the D/T.

I attach otherwise
after to (I should imagine
from the writing) Mr Wood.

J.H. Curdick.
3576-

Later.

This file was borne
away for other action
to be taken; on second
thoughts, I submit that
it will be better merely
to reply acidly as in
apt Hw.

J.H. Curdick
- Mr.

A P.C. a/c't. would have been the
thing for No 33, but it is too late
for that now. ? Put by
C.H. Curdick 11/7

Reconstructed
27

R.S.O.
M.C. 27.

I think so.

ad- G. Curdick 8/7

P.O. by Capt. MacDonald. 29.6.39. } oral. hrs 2 &
" " Mr Pettewick. 5.7.39 } 3 on P.O. file

18

45

Copy 35 to

go on **DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE**

S. land
1940

35 Extract from & only Telegraph. 15/8/39.

36 P.S. to Capt. Plugg N.P. s/o 15/8/39.
Enquires as to repatriation of Kenya
refugees.

37 To Private Secretary. 36 ackd. 16/8/39.

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

There is conversation
in Secret file
46597/1/39 about
discussion with
Italian Govt as
to repatriation.
Ref are in circ.
S.D.S.
19/8.

The date for a reply
to (36) will be found
at nos 27, 37, and 50
on 46597/1/39 Secret.
I submit a draft for
the signature of S.D.S.

J. J. Chadwick
25/8.

I submit an alternative draft

F. J. Pedler
28/8

U. J. M.
28/8

Put by

J. J. Chadwick
29/8/39

To P. S. to Capt. Plugg. (36 cancelled) — 29.8.39.

38

Copy 35 for S.D.S.
19/8

39. Extract from Daily Telegraph. 24/8/39.

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

(copy registered on 46597/11/c/39
refugees in Somaliland)

19

40

Foreign Office. J 3378/28/1 ——— 28/8/39.
Ltr. copy tel. from H.M. Consular Offices,
Addis Ababa. No 52 of August. 25th about
the readmission of refugees into Ethiopia.

? Put by. This is good news.

W. H. H. H.
1. 9. 39

Good that 308 are returning,
but not so good that the
Italians won't have any
more for the time being.

F. J. P. H.
2. 9. 39

Seen. P. J. C. H.
2. 9. 39. W. H. H. H.
2/9

9. C. H. H.

4. 9. 39 at once.

41. Capt. P. H. H. P. S. s/o ——— 30/8/39.
H. H. H. H. (38).

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

No. 41 Put by
A. H. H. H.
at once
18/5

Mr Fernoy 20
R 98

R 83 and m.
R. 1/9

Mr. Creasy.

42.

I attach a letter from Mr. Arthur
Henderson, M.P., about Abyssinian refugees.
I should be grateful for advice as to what further
reply Mr. MacDonald could send to Mr. Henderson.

A.R. Pinner

31.8.39.

43

to Mr Arthur Henderson. S/O 42 and 31/8/39.

DESTROYED UNDER STATUTE

Believing imitation
to be the sincerest
form of flattery, I
attach a apt reply
for comment to (42) on
the lines of (38).

J.H. Chadwick
7/9

It does not seem
to have been.

but 5/9.

J.H. Chadwick

12/9
at once.

44 to Mr A Henderson 42 and S/O 11/9/39

AKS

45.

Governor. Kenya. 544 ———. 7/9/39
states repatriation of 200 refugees was
completed by 22nd August, but that provisional
arrangement for handing over third batch has
been cancelled.

21

We know this already.

? put by (45-1).

N.B. I will now call
for the main and other
sub-files of this series
in order to prepare an-
other batch of pp.

If you agree to action
proposed, may this file
be returned to me?

J. J. Chadwick
19/8/39

It now appears that the ~~fact~~
S of S was incorrectly advised
when he told Mr Henderson
in No 44 that 308 refugees
had returned. Only 2 batches
of about 100 each actually
went. The crisis detained the
third party. ? no need to
send a correction to Mr. Henderson.

But? copy of 45 shd. go to F.O.
If inf.

FJ Pedler ———
21.8

See
53 on.
46594/1/39
Secret

On the whole I think we had better
take the initiative in giving Mr. Henderson

the

the correct figure. Draft herewith.

G. Creary.

22.9.39.

46. To Henderson — 50 22 Sept 1939.

47. To FO } w/c 45. $\frac{B}{1a}$ — 30. Sept 1939
48. To Treas } $\frac{B}{1b}$

Recirculate
as directed in
the Chadwick's
minutes of 19/9.

Referring to my
minute, we should
? send copies of the corres-
pondence to Kenya.

On 46597/18/38.

(26) : (45) + Encl: (53)

with encls

on 46597/18/39.

(8) + Encl: (11) + Encl

(13) : (45)

~~and copies of the~~
~~M/Js on 46597/39 DO.~~

(Sub- files (1) and (9)
done with secret files
only).

? as proposed.

Dy. Chairman.

6/10.

FJ Peale

9.10

at once

49

To: Kenya 3PN.

{ W/C. 26.45 encls
8 encls + 11 encls, 13F
45 to replace orig destroyed
by fire. }

16.10.39

23

50. F.O. J 3978/28/1

12/10/39

Ref: 47. States that the Italian Charge d'Affaires has enquired re: The cancellation of the departure of the last group of refugees.

51

To: Kenya 724.

W/C. 50.

Cons. 19.10.39

Copy of 51 1570 1/1

ref 50.

52

To: F.O.

(W/C 51).

B/c

25 Oct 1939

53.

Acting Governor. Kenya. Secret. 6.11.39.

Enc. copy letter from Govt. of Uganda stating they are prepared to accept 500 selected refugees in the first instance. Indicates position with regard to repatriation to Italian E.A. States offer of Uganda Govt. would offer partial solution of the problem. & requests early authority to give effect to it.

? send a copy of 53 to Treasury inquiring whether the assurance, sought in § 6, may be given: add that it appears safe to assume, from the Uganda Govt's letter, that the cost of maintaining the settlers during the initial period of settlement is not likely to be materially greater than the cost of maintaining them in an internment

camp. Copy w/c enc to FO. with short letter re/ 50 suggesting that a reply shd. be returned to the Italian inquiring in the terms of para 3 of the desp.

FJ Pedler

21/11/39

The answer to Signor Grolla's enquiry
 re (50) as to why "international conditions"
 are holding up the repatriation, is that
 volunteers ^{were then} ~~are~~ no longer forthcoming.

In writing to F.O. we should also say
 that, subject to their views, P.S. proposes
 to agree to the proposal in para 4. of 53, as
 to the resumption of repatriation.

attached - Cufmg.
 See also on 46597/1/39 Sec. 12/12

J. Neel
 22.11.39.

accl
 30.11.39
 atente

MP returned
 to Registrar 14/12

54 F.O. J. 3948/28/1 — 28.11.39.
 Enquiries as to reply to no (50).

55 To Kenya. tel. 516. cons. — 23.12.39.

56 Kenya. tel. 179. Secret. — 25.12.39.
 In reply to (55) refers to no. 53. Will make
 further enquiries re volunteers. Suggests
 Italian rep. in London be informed that
 Kenya Govt. is anxious to effect repatriation.

Mr Chadwick

25

Pl. dft. as directed in
Sir C Parkinson's minute of
30th November. At the same
time, copies of 55 & 56 shd. be
sent to FO and the letter
shd. be phrased accordingly

F.J. Pedler

28.12.39

at once

2 apts Lwr.

J.J. Curran

29/12.

57 To Press — 1/2 53 sent — cons — } 1-1-40
58 To FO — 1/2 53, 55, 56 & 57 — cons — }

OK

R 98

Mr. Thompson, FO,
 phoned with regard to a
 letter from us about
 Abyssinian refugees, in
 which we inquired
 whether the FO would
 agree to the Gov of
 Kenya getting into touch
 with Addis Ababa
 with a view to
 arranging further re-
 patriations. FO do
 agree & ask that this
 message may be
 accepted in lieu of
 a written reply

FJ Pedler
 9.1.40

Please see Para. 4 of No (53)
 and our letter to FO. at (58).
 ? We may give our concurrence to
 the OAS's proposals by Savings Tre.
 ref (53) and send a copy thereof
 to Mr Thompson with your com-
 pliments ref (58)

Steel
 9.1.40

W. J. Chadwick 9/1/40.

59

Q100

To: Kenya. No 7. Lavington. Secet. (53 Area). 13.1.40.

46597/1 B/39

59

C. O.

O.D.
10 JAN
11

13 Jan. 40. 28

Mr. Chadwick 9/1/40

Mr. Sec.

10.1.

Mr.

abuse

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

SS

No. 7

Secret.

(53)

Secret

You / disp. of 6th

paragraph 4.

Nov.. ~~Abyssinian refugees.~~

~~Foreign office agree to~~

I approve proposal

Your suggestion that

arrangements should be

made ^{direct} with H.M.

Consul-General, ^{Addis} ~~Addis~~

^{Ababa} ~~Aseba~~, for repatriation

of any refugees willing

to return, and whose

repatriation is agreed to

by Governor-General.

Italian East Africa.

DRAFT. Saving Tre.

~~O.A.S.~~ Governor.

Nairobi. Kenya

Copy to F.O. (10) in 1940 file

FURTHER ACTION.

Copy of a/c
to Mr Thompson
F.O. 14 (58)
with Mr Sec's
compliments

46597/1B/39.

29

C. O.

Mr. Chadwick.

Mr. *See*

Mr. C. J. Jeffries.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Permt. U.S. of S.

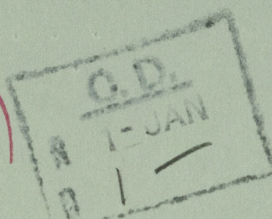
Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

29/12

29/12

*Ans'd
(See Mr Pedler's
note of 9/1/40)*



SECRET.

58

1/1/40.

83

Sir,

I am etc. to refer to your letter

(50) No. J 3978/28/1 of the 12th of October ,

2 DRAFTS

regarding an ^{En-}quiry made by the Italian.

Chargé d'^AAffaires concerning the cancellation

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,

FOREIGN OFFICE.

of the departure of the last group of

Abyssinian refugees now in Kenya, ^{who were due}

to return to via Moyalet;

/Ethiopia/and to enclose, for the information

4 Viscount

of Lord Halifax, copies of the following

FURTHER ACTION.

correspondence on this subject -

(53) Secret Despatch from the O.A.G. Kenya, dated the 6th of November, together with a copy of a letter from the Colonial Secretary, Uganda.

(companion draft) Secret letter from the Colonial Office to the Treasury dated *the* X

A

A telegram to the O.A.G. of Kenya, dated the 23rd December.

(55)

Secret telegram from the O.A.G. of Kenya dated the 25th of December.

(56)

2 It will be observed from Paragraph 3

Acting Governor's Secret despatch of 6/1/57.
of the first of these enclosures that ~~the~~

(53)

~~it became necessary in August last to O.A.G. of Kenya is of the opinion that the~~

~~discontinue arrangements for the return of refugees to their native land has~~

~~been interrupted, not for the reasons supposed~~

~~by Signor Grolla, but because volunteers were~~

~~no longer forthcoming;~~ In his secret

telegram of the 25th of December, the O.A.G.

Acting Governor expresses the view that possible
~~also refers to another probable cause of~~

~~volunteers may still be deterred by delay, namely that rumours reaching the~~

to the effect
~~internment camp suggest that refugees already~~

repatriated have not in fact been permitted

to disperse to their homes; *adds that confirmation*
~~otherwise of these ~~rumours~~ is being sought.~~

3 Despite these obstacles, the O.A.G.

Acting Governor

is anxious, as will be observed from

and that, as
reported by H.N.
Consul General at
Addis Ababa, the
question Italian
authorities at that
time were unable
to arrange for the
return of more than
a total of 308
refugees.

(56)

C. O.

Mr.

Mr.

Mr. C. J. Jeffries.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

DRAFT.

FURTHER ACTION.

paragraph 4 of his secret despatch
of the 6th of November, to proceed
with the further repatriation of such
refugees as are willing to return under
present conditions. I am, therefore,
to suggest that, provided Lord
Halifax sees no objections, a reply
should be returned to the Italian
enquiries on the lines of Paragraph 3
of the despatch under mention. Mr.
MacDonald would also propose, subject
to the concurrence of Lord Halifax,
to agree to the proposal contained in
Paragraph 4 of the ^{Adm. Saverna's} ~~O.A.G.'s~~ despatch,
as to the resumption of repatriation
of such Abyssinian refugees as are
willing

to their
willing to return/homes; and
the Italian Gov't - might be informed accordingly.
I am, etc.,

(Signed) G. F. Seal.

C. O.

Mr. Chadwick 30/12/39.

Mr. Seel. 1.1.40

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

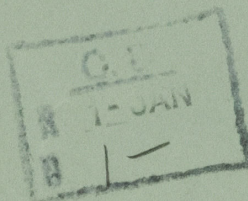
Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.



SECRET

~~December, 1939.~~

1 Jan 1940

Sir,

I am etc. to refer to

the letter from this Office

DRAFT.

(32 on 38066/7/39) No.38066/7/39 of the 5th of December

regarding the expenditure from

THE SECRETARY,

TREASURY.

U.K. funds by the Government of Kenya

on Abyssinian refugees in the Colony,

and to transmit to you a copy of a

secret despatch dated the 6th of

November from the Acting Governor of

Kenya, together with a copy of a

letter from the Government of Uganda,

dated the 4th of October, regarding

the absorption, as settlers, in the

Protectorate of Uganda of a certain

number of these refugees, and to

enquire whether the Lords Commissioners

of the Treasury ~~will feel able to~~

agree

FURTHER ACTION.

Copy of (53) and encl.

(53)
Copy 3 F.O (58)

agree that the assurance sought in paragraph 6 of the despatch under mention may be given.

2. *It would appear reasonable*
~~Mr. MacDonald is of the~~

~~opinion that it appears safe to assume,~~
 from the Uganda Government's letter which is enclosed with the despatch under mention, that the cost of maintaining the settlers during the initial period of settlement is not likely to be materially greater than the cost of maintaining them in an Internment Camp *in Kenya.*

I am, etc.

(L) G. H. L.

recd. 27/12/39

56.

CYPHER TELEGRAM from the Officer Administering the Government
of Kenya to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. 35

Dated 25th December 1939. Received 11.34 p.m., 25th December

No. 179. Secret.

55

53

Your telegram No. 516. Abyssinian refugees. Reference is
invited to my despatch secret of the 6th November. It is still
in any case doubtful whether on account of international
situation further refugees would be willing to return to Italian
East Africa and think ~~a~~ rumour has reached the camp that
refugees already repatriated have not dispersed to their homes
but are confined in stockade at Agru Marian is likely to deter
persons who might otherwise have volunteered. I am endeavouring
to obtain confirmation or otherwise of this rumour. Enquiries
will however be made at the camp and if volunteers are forth-
coming I will make arrangements for repatriation direct with
the Consul General Addis Ababa. If you consider necessary
Italian representative London can be informed that this Govern-
ment is most anxious to effect as soon as possible any
repatriation which may be possible.

Copy to FO (58)

46597/1 B/39

23 DEC 1939

C. O.

Mr. Pedler 22/12
at once

Mr.

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

Coded and sent
12-15. am.
23/12/39
RUSA

55

36

Amad. 56

516

No.

My despatch No 724 of 19th
Oct. Ethiopian refugees.

Italian representative in
London is pressing for
explanation why the third
party of 100 refugees who
were to have gone to
~~Kamp~~ Albania early in
Sept have not yet arrived.
His insistence appears to be
due to suspicion that the
refugees are being kept back
to be organised for action
against the Italians. The
best reply would be the
despatch of the third party
forthwith, but if this is not
possible I should be glad

if

Agreed with Mr Thompson
DRAFT. Tel.

O A G

Nairobi

Copy to F.O. (58)

FURTHER ACTION.

Return to Miss
Gray for the
file, which must
be found.

if you would advise me
~~learn~~ by telegraph ~~what~~
explanation can be given
to Italian representative.

of the reasons, mentioning
whether refugees are
now reluctant to proceed
as result of rumours
regarding treatment of
first 200. Secur.

KENYA.

No. SECRET.



RECEIVED

17 NOV 1939

C. O. REGY

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

NAIROBI,

KENYA.

53.
38

dup 2

6th

November, 1939.

Sir,

6214/30/39. X

1 With reference to Sir Robert Brooke-Popham's Secret telegram No.192 of the 15th of August in which you were informed that the possibility was being explored of accommodating in Uganda a certain number of the Abyssinian refugees at present in this Colony, I have the honour to inform you that a deputation from the Government of Uganda, which included a representative of the Mukama of Bunyoro, visited the camp at Isiolo on the 29th of August.

Ans. by (59)

2. I now enclose a copy of a letter No.C.2189 of the 4th of October which has been received from the Government of Uganda, from which you will observe that that Government is now prepared to accept 500 selected refugees with a view to their ultimate absorption as settlers in Uganda, and, should the experiment prove successful, to make a determined effort similarly to settle such further number of refugees as experience may show to be suitable.

Copy to Secy (59)
- PO (58)

3. As you are aware, the maintenance of these refugees in this Colony presents a problem which has always been the cause of considerable embarrassment to this Government, and which has up to the present proved incapable of solution.

51/46597/10/39

In this connection reference is invited to your despatch No.724 of the 19th of October regarding the /repatriation

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
MALCOLM MACDONALD, M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
DOWNING STREET,
LONDON, SW. 1.

repatriation of a certain number of refugees to Italian East Africa.

45/46597/18/39.
As indicated in Sir Robert Brooke-Popham's despatch No.577 of the 18th of August, the repatriation of 200 refugees to Italian East Africa had been completed by the 22nd of August when, owing to the international situation, it became necessary to discontinue arrangements since volunteers were no longer forthcoming.

40/ — " —
I should add, however, that in any case His Majesty's Consul General at Addis Ababa, in a telegram of the 25th of August repeated to the Foreign Office as No.52, of which you have no doubt received a copy, had already reported that the Acting Governor General was unable to arrange at that time for the return of more than a total of 308 refugees, and that the question of further readmissions would be re-examined after the rainy season.

4.
The refugees are now in course of transfer to a camp near Taveta Railway Station of which you were informed in Sir Robert Brooke-Popham's Secret telegram No.228 of the 1st of September. On completion of this move I propose, subject to your approval, to make arrangements direct with His Majesty's Consul General at Addis Ababa for the repatriation of any of the refugees who are willing to return to Italian East Africa and whose repatriation is agreed to by the Governor General.

22/6214/37/39
Gen. Secret.
5. It has, however, never been contemplated that it would be possible to dispose of all the refugees in this manner; and the offer of the Uganda Government, which is much appreciated, would offer a partial solution to the problem.

/I shall

3.

I shall be glad, therefore, if you see no objection to the proposal, to receive early authority to give effect to it.

6. It is assumed that the expenditure involved - see paragraphs 4 and 6 of the annexed copy of letter No.C.2189 of the 4th of October from the Chief Secretary, Uganda - will be reimbursed by His Majesty's Government, and I shall be glad to receive confirmation to this effect.

7. A copy of this despatch is being forwarded to the Government of Uganda.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

W. Hanafin
ACTING GOVERNOR.

(COPY)

No. C.2189.

CHIEF SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
ENTEBBE, UGANDA.

4th October, 1939.

Sir,

I am directed to refer to correspondence ending with my letter C.2189/70 of the 7th September regarding the possible transfer of Abyssinian refugees from Isiolo to Uganda, and to inform you that the Reports written by the two official members of the Bunyoro Deputation which recently visited Isiolo and Nairobi in this connection have now been received and considered.

2. It is clear from this consideration that the problem of the refugees falls into two main categories:-

(a) There are those whom there is no prospect of absorbing into any East African society and who must, therefore, either return, if they can and wish, to Abyssinia, or remain more or less permanently interned in Kenya or elsewhere.

(b) Those who it is reasonable to hope will be absorbed as settlers in appropriate African surroundings.

3. It is not feasible at the moment to ascertain what are the numbers falling respectively into each of these two categories. So far, however, as this

Government

The Honourable
The Chief Secretary to the Government,
Colony and Protectorate of Kenya,
NAIROBI.

2.

Government is concerned the only assistance which could be extended in the case of the first category is to provide an internment camp in Uganda, that is to say, reproduce in Uganda what is being done already at Isiolo or Taveta, with this disadvantage, that the refugees will then be much further from the Coast and the cost of maintaining them in internment considerably higher. In these circumstances this Government feels justified in making the presumption that this form of assistance is not desired or sought.

4. As regards the second category, if there should be success in the settlement of some of those belonging to it in Uganda, to that extent this Government would be providing a permanent solution and, eventually, a relief of expenditure at present borne by His Majesty's Government. It is hardly necessary to explain that this Government is not in a position to undertake a settlement of this character from its own funds, but if His Majesty's Government are prepared to continue to bear the cost over what may be called the preliminary period, I am to convey the assurance that this Government will make a determined effort to settle such numbers of refugees in the second category as experience may show to be suitable.

On those terms a beginning would be made with a maximum of 500 refugees chosen by officers of the Uganda Government in consultation with officers of the Kenya Government. While it would be necessary for this Government to reserve the right to return for re-internment in Kenya any refugee who failed to make good under this Settlement Scheme, the hope is entertained that the attempt will be successful: at any rate the Native Administration of Bunyoro and the Protectorate Government are ready to make it.

3.

5. As soon, therefore, as sanction has been obtained from the Secretary of State for the proposed experimental transfer, or, alternatively, as soon as the Kenya Government is prepared to guarantee that such sanction will be forthcoming, this Government will set in motion the required measures, including the selection in Kenya of the first 500 refugees.

It would be of invaluable help if Mr. A.O. Smith, a former missionary now attached to the Isiolo Internment Camp, could be made available if only for the initial period to assist in the reception and accommodation of the refugees.

6. It is perhaps well to explain that the expenditure falling to be borne by His Majesty's Government on account of this transfer if it takes place will include, apart from transportation and maintenance charges, any special expenditure involved on personnel for supervision and instruction as well as any implements, stock and materials required.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd.) J.E.S. MERRICK.

CHIEF SECRETARY.

In any further communication
on this subject, please quote

No. J 3978/28/1.

and address—

not to any person by name

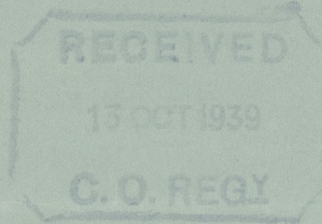
but to—

"The Under-Secretary of State,"
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

50
44
FOREIGN OFFICE.

S. W. 1.

12th October, 1939.



Sir,

47 I am directed by Viscount Halifax to invite a
reference to your letter No. 46597/IB/39 of the 30th September
last concerning the repatriation from Kenya to Ethiopia of
a specified group of 300 Ethiopian refugees, and to inform
you that the Italian Chargé d'Affaires called at this department
on the 10th October to enquire why the "international
"situation" had led to the cancellation of the departure of
the last group of these refugees. In asking for this
information, Signor Crolla added that the Italian Government
would desire the repatriation to be completed as soon as
possible. It is presumed, however, that in view of climatic
conditions, immediate resumption of the operation cannot be
contemplated until later in the year.

Copy Kenya (51)

2. I am to request that this department may be advised
in due course of the nature of the reply to be returned to
the Italian enquiries.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

DV Kelly

The Under-Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

46
45

G. O.

46597/1B/39 E.A. -

Mr. Creasy. 22/9/39.

Mr. *Parkinson* 22/9/39.

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

Quarto for the Secretary of State's signature.

22 September, 1939.

DRAFT.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, ESQ., K.C., M.P.

.....

I am sorry to find that

I gave you a wrong figure in my letter

(44)

of the 11th of September about the

return of Abyssinian refugees from

Kenya to their own country.

I told you that the total

number of refugees who had returned to

Abyssinia was 308. I have now been

informed by the Governor, however,

that, while the repatriation of 200

refugees had been completed by the

22nd of August, the provisional

arrangements which had been made for

FURTHER ACTION.

Copies of (45) 15

F.O. LF 40
Treasury 40

Received all.

the

the third party of 108 to cross the
frontier on the 1st of September had to
be cancelled on account of the international
situation.

Yours sincerely,

AIR MAIL

KENYA

No. 577.



45
GOVERNMENT HOUSE

NAIROBI

KENYA

47

September, 1939.

EH
Sir,

2n ho
40.
I have the honour to invite reference to telegram No.52 of the 25th August from His Majesty's Acting Consul General at Addis Ababa to the Foreign Office, a copy of which has doubtless been communicated to you, on the subject of the return of Abyssinian refugees to Italian East Africa.

The repatriation of two hundred refugees was completed by the 22nd August and provisional arrangements had been made for a third batch to be handed over to the Italian authorities at Moyale on the 1st September.

On account, however, of the international situation it became necessary to cancel this arrangement, and the Acting Consul General was so informed on the 29th August.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

W. K. Wanjari

for GOVERNOR.

Copy to FO 47.
Treas 48.
Kenya for records. 49.
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

MALCOLM MACDONALD, M.P.,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,

DOWNING STREET,

LONDON, S.W. 1.

46597/1B/39

444

C. O.

For the Secretary of State's signature

48

Mr. Chadwick 7/9/39

Mr. Pedler 7.9

Mr. Creasy 8.9

*Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

*Secretary of State.

September, 1939.

9.9
M. Parkin 9/9. P.

You wrote to me on the 28th

(42) of August about the return of Abyssinian

refugees now in Kenya to their home-land,

and asked me to let you have some

information on the matter.

DRAFT. conson.

A. HENDERSON, ESQ., K.C., M.P.

((2) & (3) in
P.Q. file)

~~You will remember that, as was~~
~~He reply which I gave to~~
stated in Parliament on the 5th of July,
questions in the House on the 5th July,
an assurance ~~was~~ ^{was} been given by the

Italian Government that refugees who

return to Abyssinia would not suffer

prejudicial treatment owing to their

having been refugees or to their having

taken part in hostilities against the

Italian forces. There is no compulsion

on the refugees and those who have

decided to return to their homes have

been conveyed to the frontier and

repatriated at their own request.

FURTHER ACTION.

An

An arrangement was made with the authorities in Italian East Africa regarding the route by which the refugees should return. The upshot of it was that they should cross the frontier at Moyale in companies of one hundred at intervals of not less than ten days. The first party of a hundred entered Abyssinia without encountering any difficulties on the 12th of August. Since then more have gone, to a total of 308. It will not, however, be possible ^{if things so normally,} to arrange for the return of any more until the end of the rainy season.

(Sgd.) MALCOLM MacDONALD

Box
Cassidy

42.

50



28th August, 1939.

Rt.Hon.Malcolm Macdonald, M.P.,
Colonial Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

Dear Minister,

35. My attention has been drawn to a statement
in the issue of the Daily Telegraph of August 15th
to the following effect:

"Abyssinians, who fled into Kenya during the Italian conquest of 1935-6, are to be repatriated following negotiations with the Italian authorities, who have agreed not to victimise the refugees.

"A first batch of a hundred refugees is returning shortly. They have volunteered to leave Kenya, and the Government is providing transport as far as the border and adequate food supplies for the journey."

I should be glad if you would let me have any information on this matter, as it is causing great concern to many people who are interested in Abyssinia.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Henderson

In any further communication on this subject, please quote

No. *J3378/28/1.*

and address—not to any person by name, but to—

"The Under-Secretary of State," Foreign Office, London, S.W. 1.

Sup enc.

THE Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to *He Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies,* and, by direction of the Secretary of State, transmits herewith copies of the under-mentioned paper.

Foreign Office,

Aug. 26th, 1939.

29 AUG 1939

Reference to previous correspondence :

To. letter No. J3230/28/1 of Aug. 19th.

no trace

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
<p><i>Del. from</i></p> <p><i>H.M. Colonial Office.</i></p> <p><i>Adair Ababa.</i></p> <p><i>No. 52.</i></p> <p><i>Aug. 25th.</i></p>	<p><i>Readmission of refugees into Ethiopia.</i></p>

Similar letter sent to *Tuy.*

NO DISTRIBUTION.

Decode. Acting British Consul-General (Addis Ababa),
25th August, 1939.

D. 6.30 p.m. 25th August, 1939.

R. 3.00 a.m. 26th August, 1939.

No. 52.

Addressed to Niarobi No. 21, August 22nd.

Your telegram No. 5.

Acting Governor-General informs me he is unable to arrange at present the return of more than 308 refugees referred to in your despatch of July 14th 1938 and in the Foreign Office despatch No. 50 of June 8th 1939.

In view of the present conditions [grp. undec.] Acting Governor-General requested arrangements for return of other refugees be postponed until after the rainy seasons when questions of their [grp. undec.] will be re-examined.

Meanwhile Acting Governor-General would be glad to be informed of date of arrival at Moyale of remaining and last batches of 308 mentioned above.

Repeated to Foreign Office No. 52.

46597/1B/39 EA

53

38

C. O.

Mr. Pedle 28/8

Mr.

Mr.

X Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

28/8
M. Pashin

CDL
29/8 p

For sig. by Mr. Pashin

Dear Private Secretary
You wrote ^{to my colleagues} ~~me~~ on the
15th of August inquiring whether
all the Abyssinian refugees in
Kenya are to be repatriated.
This depends on them. Those
who decide to return to
their homes will be
conveyed to the frontier, but
none will be sent back
against their will.

You also asked whether
an understanding, and if so
of what nature, had been
reached with the Italian
Government on the subject.
As Mr MacDonald stated
in Parliament on the 5th
of July, an assurance
has

DRAFT.

The Priv. Sec. to
Capt. L.F. Plugge M.P.
H/Commens

(273 m
46597/39
PQ)

FURTHER ACTION.

(273 m
46597/39
PQ)

has recently been given
by the Italian Govt that
refugees who return will not
suffer prejudicial treatment
owing to their having been
refugees or to their having
taken part in hostilities
against the Italian forces.

Since the Italian
Govt gave that assurance, an
~~furth~~ arrangement has been
made with the authorities in
Italian East Africa regarding
the route by which the refugees
should return. The upshot of
it is, that they ~~enter~~ cross
the frontier at Moyale in
batches of one hundred at
intervals of not less than ~~2~~
~~fortnight~~ ten days. The
first party of a hundred
entered Abyssinia on ^{the} 12th of August

(27 and 50 in
46597/1/39 Sec).

(50 in 46597/1/39
Sec)

Y. S.

Assistant Private Secretary



36

55

15th August, 1939

Dear Private Secretary,

I wonder if you could be kind enough to let me know, for Captain Plugge, whether the whole of the Abyssinian refugees in Kenya are to be repatriated, and whether an understanding - and if so of what nature - has been reached with the Italian Government on the subject.

I should be so grateful for any information you can send me on the point.

Yours truly,

K. Taylor

Private Secretary to
Capt. L. F. Plugge, M.P.

The Private Secretary to
the Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P.,
Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

EDITOR - E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

32.
56

All Communications to :

ESP/DH

26th May, 1939.

"WEST DENE"

3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND

Telephone: BUCKhurst 2463

Your Ref. :

Our Ref. :

The Rt. Hon. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P.,
The Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

Dear Mr. MacDonald,

Advisory Board:

NANCY CUNARD

A. EIDENSCHENK-PATIN

General Secretary:

International League of Mothers
and Educators for Peace.

Ancien Membre
Conseil Supérieur de
l'Instruction publique.

ISABEL FRY

PHILIP HOPKINS

Chairman,
West of England
Abyssinia Association.

Dr. HUGENHOLTZ

President,
Dutch Society
for the
Liberation of Ethiopia.

F. L. LUCAS

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

Colonel MAURICE SPENCER

Rev. V. ZIAPKOFF

President,
Union of Young People's
Evangelical Associations
in Bulgaria.

31. I am delighted to hear that Mr. Maasho
is at last allowed to go to his brother, Mr. Hidaru.

You state that Mr. Maasho is a cousin and
not the brother of Mr. Hidaru. Yes, I understood
that later, but they always called each other brother
as they had been brought up in the same household and
loved each other as brothers. As explained previously,
they are the only survivors of their family, all the
rest being killed in the war.

Thanking you for this kind help.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

46597/1B/39 E.A.

27

C. O.

57

Mr. Pedler ^{2/6} s.o. for Mr. Creasy's signature

Mr. Creasy ^{3/6/39 6.}

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

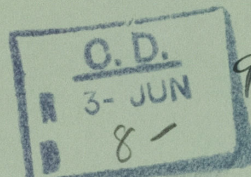
Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

DOWNING STREET.



9 June, 1939.

Dear Sir Robert

This is in reply to the

second point in your letter of the

(23) 8th May, about ^{Miss} Sylvia Pankhurst.

N.P. //

"The New Times and Ethiopia News"

^{cut away}
~~as you know~~, contains a lot of

anti-Italian propaganda, much of

which appears to consist of over-

statements of fact, ^{and} there is

little doubt that, however much

the Isiolo articles may be

censored in Kenya, the newspaper

would contrive to present them in

a highly coloured manner which

might give the Italians some

excuse for complaining of false

British propaganda. As you say,

any abuse of Italy which might be

put into the mouths of refugees by

Miss Pankhurst

DRAFT.

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL
SIR ROBERT BROOKE-POPHAM, G.C.V.O.,
K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.F.C.

FURTHER ACTION.

Miss Pankhurst would ^{certainly} react to their
detriment if, and when, they return
to Abyssinia.

From the political point of
view in London, there is no reason
for deviating from a strict regard for
the public interest for the purpose of
sweetening Miss Pankhurst. The
restraint which it is proposed to
exercise to prevent the lady in the
refugee camp from contributing the
articles will naturally be of a tactful
and, in so far as it is possible,
unobtrusive character. Subject to that,
the Foreign Office, whom we have
consulted, are in agreement with our
view that there is no objection to your
finding ^{an} ~~some~~ excuse for refusing
permission for the articles. ^{/ do not} ~~It is~~
~~known whether you would be able to~~
~~rather difficult to see how you could~~
stop the sending of articles through
the

C. O.

Mr.

Mr.

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

the post for publication anonymously;

but-

~~though admittedly~~ this would not be open

to quite the same objection as the

publication of articles above the

signature of a person who is working at

the refugee camp more or less under

Government auspices.

.....

DRAFT.

FURTHER ACTION.

SOUTHWARK ELECTORS ENDORSE OUR POLICY

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS

ABYSSINIA for the
ABYSSINIANS

Edited by E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

No. 160 [4th Year]

POSTAGE 3D
ANYWHERE 3

London, May 27th, 1939

Twopence Weekly

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IDEAL.



Part of the decorations, by Violet Oakley, for one of the great Halls in the Palace of the League of Nations at Geneva.

BRITISH TROOPS MUST NOT HELP MUSSOLINI

TO CRUSH ABYSSINIAN PATRIOTS

A Speech by Captain Arnold Weinholt

In the Town Hall, Brisbane, Australia, on April 27th—arranged by the International Peace Campaign Council—Captain Weinholt, who served in the Red Cross during the first part of the Italo-Ethiopian War, ably put the case for the withdrawal of Australia's *De Jure* Recognition (i.e. Legal Sanction) of the so-called Italian conquest of Ethiopia. The speaker uttered a warning against the use of British Troops to assist Mussolini to overcome the valiant struggle of the Abyssinians.

I thank the Council of the International Peace Campaign for their kind invitation to speak to-night from this platform to my fellow Queenslanders in Brisbane. I also thank the generous and courageous way the 4 BC Station are enabling me to put our case to my fellow Australians in the wider field. It is grand to get these two chances—for I know, and I think you realise, how difficult it is to get a direct appeal to the public through the Press or through a controlled radio service.

I have just returned from England, where

I went firstly to try and help protest against (and defeat, had it been possible) the *de jure* recognition being given to the so-called conquest of Ethiopia. That battle having been lost, we considered it necessary, shameful though the very idea may seem to you, to start an early protest and warning lest the Chamberlain Government might be induced by further threats of the Italian Dictator, to use British troops—the Sudan Air Force, the K.A.R. or Sudanese battalions to help crush the Ethiopian

(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

ABYSSINIANS DRIVE ITALIANS FROM JIMMA ROAD

MANY ABYSSINIAN VICTORIES

Italians Violate and Murder Abyssinian Women

FRIENDS OF FRANCE PERSECUTED IN ABYSSINIA

From Our Own Correspondent

JIBUTI, May 12th.

The railway line has been repaired and the trains are again running. We have received the news of several engagements between the Italians and Ethiopians.

Italian Troops and Workmen Vanquished on Jimma Road

A big fight is reported from Lakamte. I informed you some time ago that the Italians were repairing the big road of Jimma and had 2,000 labourers and thousands of soldiers working on this. These soldiers are said to have been attacked by a big force of Ethiopians under the brother of the late Dedjaz Hapt Hariam, and after hand-to-hand fighting of three days, forced to retire. Large numbers of dead were left on the field by the Italians.

Another big attack is reported from Khambata by the soldiers of Fitaaurari

"I won because of the electors' profound discontent with the Government's handling of the international situation, and because they were indignant at its betrayal of the system of collective security."

—George Isaacs, M.P. (Gen. Sec. of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants), on his Parliamentary victory at Southwark.

Zaude Abeba Khora and Fitaaurari Darasso.

The first of these is a veteran soldier, always on the look out for some such daring adventure. His last attack was on Zukala and it seems that he has now joined Fitaaurari Darasso who has been fighting many engagements with the Italians in Sidamo, Arousi, etc.

Italian Garrison Wiped out at Khambata

Khambata is situated near the customs station of Alaba on the Sidamo road, there were Indians and Arabs trading there before the war. This place is an important trade centre. The Ethiopians surrounded it one night and killed the entire Italian garrison. After looting and ransacking the place they withdrew to the bush near Alaba, where the Italians cannot pursue them as this district is waterless and infested by armed men.

A fourth big engagement is reported from Addis-Salim.

Italians Beg French Aid

The rainy season being very near the Italians are begging the French to allow them to land provisions and merchandise in Jibuti and it seems that the French and the British have accepted this and once again poor Ethiopia is being betrayed.

I have seen from the list of the Italian steamers that one ship will enter Jibuti every day from 10th to 17th May and then one ship daily from 20th to 31st. I asked

friends to report what these ships brought and I have heard that the first Italian steamer unloaded 2,500 tons of wheat and other stores and then went to Berbera to land more there. If this continues the Italians will be helped once more to retain their position during the rainy season which is fast approaching.

ABSENT FROM THE LEAGUE.



The Emperor of Ethiopia arriving at Geneva by air in September, 1936, to attend the Assembly of the League of Nations.

To-day he is the most famous of the many notable absentees from the League.

Sad Plight of Fitaaurari Zaffiro's Daughter

The other steamer brought from Massawa a daughter of the late Fitaaurari Zaffiro, for years the Chief of Police in Dire Dawa and the first Ethiopian (Tigre) chief to die for his country. She was sent to Massawa and Asmara for Italian education before the war. After the war she was still there, but when the Italians were being hard pressed, day and night, all the Tigrians and the Ethiopians were sent to prison. She was also deprived of everything she possessed and sent here and has landed in a pitiable condition. Her legs are covered with wounds and she is without money or friends. Lij Andargt Massai, has, as usual, done something for her, but I feel sure you will ask some Abyssinian societies to help her.

Another Tigrian, after serving 14 years with the Italians as Buluk Basha, has deserted, and managed to enter French territory. (Continued on page 3, col. 3)

British Troops Must Not Help Mussolini.

(Continued from page 1, col. 2)

patriots, still everywhere in the field, whom Mussolini now knows he cannot himself exterminate. By the shameful recognition we made these brave Ethiopian fighters, rebels and outlaws (not that that would worry them over much)—and we feared that it was only a further (though baser) step to yield to any request of Mussolini—that we should “in a friendly spirit of appeasement” give him a hand to—shall we say—“keep order” in the Ethiopian districts adjoining our border.

Please remember, by the Statute of Westminster, the Dominions, and we as Australians, must now take the full blame, as we now have taken over the full responsibility for our actions—in the international affairs as well as locally—and that accordingly all I condemn in the Chamberlain Government as regards this Anglo-Italian Agreement, condemns equally our own Australian Government for their own acquiescence and approval of the Agreement.

May I, without attempting to re-open past events more than is absolutely necessary to clarify the position to my audience, mention that immediately the proposal to grant Italy *de jure* recognition of her so-called conquest of Ethiopia, become public news—in protest we called a meeting in the Teachers' Training Hall here, with Dr. Bean as our chairman, and his help then I now most thankfully acknowledge. Almost unanimously we then passed this resolution:—

“This Meeting, though most anxious that we live on friendly terms with all Nations, believes that, if for certain promised advantages for ourselves, we give legal approval of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia—we completely repudiate our former principles, dangerously weaken our British Prestige and sell our Good Faith, Justice and Honour.

“We therefore respectfully ask our Prime Minister, the Hon. J. A. Lyons, to see that we are committed by his Government to no act unworthy of Australia and the British traditions behind her.”

MUSSOLINI SHOULD HAVE BEEN TOLD.

Here, may I admit, but without apology, that I still hold to my former advocacy that as soon as Mussolini began to make his preparation to attack Ethiopia (he did so quite openly for months ahead) and without waiting till he had actually begun hostilities, Great Britain and her Dominions should have warned him that we had pledged ourselves (through the League) for the security of Ethiopia, and to make a deliberate and wanton attack on that country meant immediate war with us also. The onus would have been then on the Italian dictator to go ahead or not. If he had—which is very doubtful—we should have had to see it through. We would have had a clear case and, I believe, world-wide support. Then was the hour, with the British people giving the lead (and why should there not be leadership amongst nations as amongst individuals?)

“To nobly save, not meanly lose
The last best hope of earth.”

A democracy is useless unless it is also a brave democracy, and in the last resource a fighting democracy, too. Words in themselves can but inspire to action.

“Knowledge we ask not—knowledge
Taou hast lent;

But Lord the will; there lies our bitter
need.

Give us to build—above the deep
intent—

The Deed: The Deed.”

IN BETRAYING ANOTHER WE BETRAYED OURSELVES.

I believed our own security also was then involved, and I felt that in betraying another we did in the future but betray ourselves. I know the many objections to the procedure I have stated. I can understand, and even sympathise, without agreement, with them. That we were not ready—that we should mind our own business—that “we could not play the policeman” for the world. But this ignores the fact that we firstly, in the League, “undertook to play the policeman.” Moreover, we did play the policeman, for we imposed “sanctions” against Italy—certainly half-hearted—sham and bogus sanctions. Also we “played the policeman” by imposing an embargo against the Ethiopians obtaining arms to defend themselves in their most critical hour of danger—on the ground that their protection was to be our business. After that, and after abandoning them to their enemy, it seems hardly the time to ask the old question: “Am I my brother's keeper?”

Be all that as it may, and differently though we may perhaps think on that decision, surely at least there was no need and could be no justice or apology for giving *de jure* recognition (legal sanction and legal approval) of the conquest, so-called, though invasion and destruction give a far truer description of Ethiopia to-day.

THE ITALO-ABYSSINIA TREATY.

Firstly, to show how coldly premeditated, how blackly treacherous, was Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, let me read out three of the clauses in the Italo-Abyssinian Treaty of 1928, specially made between the two countries:

Article 1.—There shall be constant peace and perpetual friendship between the Kingdom of Italy and the Abyssinian Empire.

Article 2.—Each Government undertakes not to engage under any pretext in action calculated to injure or prejudice the independence of the other; and the Governments undertake to safeguard the interests of their respective countries.

Article 5.—Both Governments undertake to submit to a procedure of conciliation and arbitration disputes which may arise between them, and which may not have been possible to settle by ordinary diplomatic methods without having recourse to armed force.

If, after such a treaty and such articles, Italy's attack on Ethiopia can be justified, then nothing on God's earth can ever be wrong. Just as individual business is based on straight dealing and the honouring of contracts, so international trade depends on the general confidence secured by international good faith, justice and the upholding of treaty obligations. Mussolini's premeditated repudiation had been the start and cause of all our world-wide cut-throat armament race, so disastrous to the future economic welfare of the people in every country.

THE ANGLO-ITALIAN TREATY.

Let us, as briefly as possible, look into this Anglo-Italian Agreement. Here we find Mussolini offering us certain (alleged) benefits or promises, if we on our side will grant *de jure* recognition of his claim to the conquest and possession of Ethiopia. He offers to cease propaganda against us; but what propaganda against one from without can be as deadly as a shameful and cowardly act that you yourself do?

The Italian troops in Libya were to be much reduced. It was admitted in the Commons only a few weeks ago that all, or far more, were already back there.

The Italian troops were to be withdrawn from Spain. How well that promise was kept everyone of you knows well.

The status quo of all the Mediterranean Powers was to be maintained. Mussolini has just seized Albania.

Now a more disgraceful clause—He would protect our “rights” in Lake Tsana! Yet Lake Tsana was Ethiopian, and neither his to deal with, nor ours to accept any bribe about.

On our hand we were to go back on all our principles, eat all our fine words and bargain away, not even for silver, but for the paper promises of an approved defaulter—our good faith, prestige, justice and honour.

Worse even than that, we undertook, like the fox that had lost its own tail, to play the jackal for Mussolini, and to try and induce other smaller States also to give him legal recognition of his so-called conquest, and to share in our false faith and double dealing!

I say that was a base act; that was not worthy of the British people.

A WRONG AND BRUTAL DEAL.

How low have we sunk, how deep then must rust have eaten into the virtue of British steel. By what star compass can we now be guided; by what compass can we now steer, once we have sold our legal consent and approval to what we all know was a wrong and brutal deed?

How few people remember that Czechoslovakia also gave her legal sanction to Mussolini's so-called conquest of Ethiopia. Willing they were, as, to our shame, Australia also, to give the death-approving sign, “Thumbs down! Thumbs down!” of the ancient, bloody-minded spectators of the Roman amphitheatre, in regard to that heroically resisting little African people—never realising that the weapon they were willing to see driven into the struggling body of little Ethiopia was so soon to be pressed against their own heart.

Poland, forgetful of her past historic national struggles, ignobly gave her legal sanction also. But our brothers on the other side of the Tasman Sea, to their honour, refused the consent that our Australian Government so tamely gave, and I had the real honour to be able in person to thank Mr. Jordan, High Commissioner for New Zealand, for his fine courageous and logical speech at Geneva.

Why should this splendid young Commonwealth whose aspirations and ideals should be so high, record so clean and deeds so noble, thus sign away in international affairs her own moral death warrant? I believe this Anglo-Italian Agreement, with its shameful bargain, will prove a “Covenant with hell and death.”

I am a Britisher—have gloried in our

wonderful history—believed in our future; but when we sold away our legal sanction of Italy's cold-blooded attack on Ethiopia, it seemed as if everything one had believed in had come crashing down. It seemed as if straight away “some virtue had gone out of us” and, with that, our own safety, too, had become vitally threatened.

Over and done with, they say. Not so! That's what Eugene Aram, the murderer, thought when the corpse of the man he had murdered for his gold had lain twelve long years undiscovered, but in the end he went to the gallows. Is there any statue of limitations for murder and robbery under arms?—And the evil men do lives after them. Face the facts! Yes, that's what I say, by all means; but the true facts, and all of them, and remember now we've got to face the music too, before it's all over.

APPEASEMENT CONDEMNED.

Did they really think by their policy of appeasement—whose very name condemns it—that they could purchase friendship by continually sacrificing weaker people, instead of earning the general and well-deserved contempt we gained. That appeasement policy wasn't even original. Ethelred the Unready tried that just about one thousand years ago! Let all moral considerations go, and still Talleyrand's cynical remark applies: “Worse than a crime—a mistake.”

France, that wonderful land of brave and chivalrous men and women, of Liberté, Fraternité and Egalité—how came you to work so meanly against Ethiopia? How much stronger would be your own case to-day, when your territory is being questioned and claimed, had you refused to give your legal sanction to the Italian attack on your neighbour beyond Jibuti?

The politicians closed their eyes and ears with mean hostility when we warned them that the Italian conquest was anything but complete, or likely to be. But what is the military position in Ethiopia to-day, where day by day, week by week, month by month, year by year, in our own time, under our own eyes, goes on one of the world's most heroic and historic fights of a small nation for its independence against a great Power.

The Italians maintain in use the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway. Being French (and partly Ethiopian) owned, the Ethiopians try to avoid molesting it. The Italians keep open the long motor road from Asmara to Addis Ababa. Every inch of this road (in Ethiopian territory) has to be closely guarded. The Ethiopians continually attack the transport and small posts, though it is difficult to do much damage to a motor road.

ITALIANS FORCED TO RETIRE.

The Italians are keeping open, though again with difficulty, the motor road to Harar from their Somaliland coast; also the Addis Ababa to Harar motor road, and thence by Jigjiga to Berbera. Huge loaded lorries continually go up; they come down in hundreds—empty.

There are no “Markets” in Addis Ababa or other towns in Italian hands. The Ethiopians will not grow or sell food for the invaders. The country districts are at best sullen, others very dangerous or openly hostile.

The Italians have been gradually forced to retire from a great part of Ethiopia that they temporarily occupied when Ethiopian resistance was paralysed and disorganised, after the Emperor had left the country. Where there are still outside Italian garrisons, these are surrounded by a hostile population and are practically besieged.

The Italians have probably 200,000 troops in Ethiopia—maybe 25 per cent. are white. The Italians give that sure sign of doubtful success in the field—a prolific “Proclamation” campaign.

The Ethiopians are determined to fight to the bitter end; they always said they would. The Italians are getting, and will continue to get, what Napoleon got from the Spaniards—i.e., “war to the knife” and the Spanish ulcer in the end killed him, as an Ethiopian ulcer will yet destroy his would-be imitator.

Why should we lift up the man whose feet have slipped in blood there?

THE ETHIOPIANS UNITED AND BRAVE.

The Ethiopians are for the first time united, having sunk racial and religious animosities, to drive out their invaders. They have got their second wind, and are coming again—and to some purpose.

They now fully realise they have only themselves to rely on:

“In native arms and native ranks
Alone the hope of freedom lies.”

They, too, realise “How strong you are—when you stand alone.” Their leaders know that every week increases the financial, economic and military difficulties of those who have invaded their country.

The Ethiopians have learnt their real strength as guerrillas.

They know better now than to blindly attack the Italian positions. They have realised at last that in small parties they cannot be bombed or gassed from the air, nor can artillery be used against them, and, perhaps best of all, they can now, in small guerrilla bands, feed themselves off the country which they could not in their former disorganised masses.

These are brave men and desperate.

The Italian native troops are closely watching the ever-increasing difficulties of their white masters in Ethiopia.

The colour bond is not one to be ignored lightly. How far and how deep may that current yet flow—be not already flowing! And there are 400,000,000 coloured subjects of the King. Let our politicians take heed what a great matter may here be kindled.

The Ethiopian chiefs in the field have, of late months, all met and chosen supreme commanders to carry on the war in the different provinces allotted to them, and subordinate leaders have been appointed to each. As in all guerrilla warfare, the natural leaders—successful raiders, etc.—are working their way to the top.

THE STRENGTH OF A JUST CAUSE.

The Ethiopian patriots have now plenty of machine-guns, rifles and ammunition (nearly all taken from the Italians).

These Ethiopians are extremely confident. Are the Italians now?

The Ethiopian fighting man has the most complete faith in the justice of his cause; and why not? They have the firmest trust in the help of God—at least the fighting value of that spirit cannot be ridiculed.

The Ethiopian women, who have full cause for their hatred of the Italian invaders, are having the greatest influence on their fighting men—Joan of Arc never showed braver, nobler or purer patriotism than many of these heroic women.

All Ethiopian men, women and children are passing to-day through the Valley of the Shadow of the Hyena.

In the words of Adam Lindsay Gordon, that noble link between England and Australia, for both can claim him:

“Shall we, hard-hearted to their fates,
thus

Soft-hearted shrink from our own?
When the measure we mete with is

meted to us
When we reap as we've always

sown.”

To condone an evil deed is to share in the blame, but to take benefits for acquiescing is to bring the blood guilt directly on one's own head.

It is Nemesis for that, that makes me afraid for the future—not the might of outside foes however strong. Two lines from that splendid battle hymn to which Abraham Lincoln's soldiers marched to war come to my mind—

“You may read a fiery gospel in the
burnished rows of steel.

As ye deal with my condemnors—so my
grace with you shall deal.”

“Only be strong and of good courage” includes surely both moral strength and moral courage. If we are to have war, at least may it be for some clear, unselfish, noble cause—that every one of us shall understand.

STATESMAN FACED BY THEIR OWN WORDS.

What a moral and political boghole have we now found ourselves in—since once we bargained away our legal sanction to Italy's aggression against Ethiopia!

Let me show by only a few instances.

Mr. Chamberlain, on October 14th, 1935, speaking against Mussolini's unprovoked attack on Ethiopia said:

“The choice before us is whether we shall make a last effort at Geneva for peace and security—or whether by cowardly surrender we shall break a promise we have made, and hold ourselves up to shame for our children and children's children.”

At Rome, on January 11th, 1939, the same man, raising his glass to his smiling and exulting hosts, says—

“It is a real pleasure to see with my own eyes the New Italy—powerful and progressive—which has arisen under your Excellency's guidance and inspiration. . . . I raise my glass to His Majesty the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia.”

The Chamberlain Government, late last year, included the following in a Note to Tokio:—

“His Majesty's Government desire to make it clear that they are not prepared to accept or to recognize changes of the nature indicated which are brought about by force.”

Yet the British Government's legal sanction of Italy's so-called Conquest of Ethiopia

(Continued on page 3, cols. 1 and 2)

ITALIAN OFFICER'S REPORT TO ROME CONFIRMS OUR NEWS OF ABYSSINIA

The following facts, taken from the report of an Italian officer in Ethiopia to Italian military headquarters in Rome; published by the "Volkzeitung," Lodz, Switzerland, strikingly confirms the news received from our own correspondents.

INDIGESTIBLE ETHIOPIA

Italian Report of Heavy Losses in Italy's Little War.

We publish to-day some interesting information culled from a report of Achille Sacchi, commander of Italian Colonial troops to his headquarters in Rome.

The report tells especially of "the power of the Ethiopians in sudden attack." The other day an Ethiopian column more than 12,000 men was the cause of heavy losses on the Italian side.

The report states that, on dark moonless nights even a strong battalion cannot think of leaving the fort. In Forguta a battalion lost fifty men, and Major Sciava, who was

leading the attack, was amongst those killed.

A party of 4,000 men under the Abyssian General Arragai gave the Fascists a battle of 19 hours, during which half a battalion Blackshirts were killed and 192 were taken prisoner. An unknown number of Ethiopians were killed and three were captured and shot at once.

The troops of Arragai have begun fighting around Addis Ababa, at Mellots, Mangasha and Addis Alem.

Sometime ago 550 Ethiopian horsemen entered Addis Ababa at night, created disorder, and disappeared in the morning.

General Tigre Gavrahayot (Gebre Hiwot) is the commander of 5,000 Ethiopians and in February he made an attack on a train of lorries on its way to Addis Ababa, he captured 200 lorries, many machine guns and much food.

General Abboye Mangasha has 3,500 men under his command and is operating in Dessie. Often he got into the city. Wassanay, a son-in-law of Haile Selassie, is operating in Sidamo, south of Addis Ababa.

British Troops Must Not Help Mussolini. (Continued from page 2, col. 4)

pia makes that note both nonsense and humbug.

Sir Samuel Hoare, another Minister in the Chamberlain Government, that Canberra followed so blindly, at a dinner at Cambridge University said:—

"A concentrated effort should be made on raising the standard of life, improved education and helping Africans—preferably by the development of their own institutions. So far from laying down this traditional mission of the British people we intended to make our British principles as permanent a strength to the world as they had ever been in past generations."

To talk like this after having been himself the first to "start the rot" over Ethiopia and to have been a Minister in the Government that legalized the so-called conquest of the last little Independent African State—shows what contempt Sir Samuel Hoare must have for the intelligence of the public.

Lord Halifax, speaking in the House of Lords on March 20th of this year—please note the date—said:—

"We are now confronted with the arbitrary suppression of Independent States by force—and the violation of the elementary rules of International Conduct."

I like that now—when it was Lord Halifax in person who went to Geneva, and speaking the legal recognition of Mussolini's "arbitrary (attempted) suppression by force and violation of the elementary rules of International Conduct" by Italy against Ethiopia.

Nice political leaders these are for Australia to amble amiably behind!

Now something that hurts even more, and I say it with all due respect as a member of the Church of England myself—it is useless for His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, to make his various appeals "for the preservation of those principles which are disturbing the peace of the world." Or again, his stating "that unless our democracy rests on the strong, steadfast dignity of Christian personality, we have to ask ourselves whether after all it is worth saving"—when His Grace, as a legislator in the House of Lords by speech and vote supported that shameful legal sanction of the barbarous attack and destruction of little Ethiopia by Mussolini. I pray that His Grace's influence may yet be exerted for and not against us in this matter of Ethiopia.

A FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIAL STATEMENT.

An acquaintance of mine, a Foreign Office official, who had lately been to Addis Ababa, presumably in regard to some Anglo-Italian negotiations regarding Ethiopia (and anything of this kind may well be viewed now with grave suspicion), told me that though his personal sympathies had been rather with the Ethiopians, he thought it a great pity that the Ethiopians should still be carrying out such an intense guerrilla fight for their independence and thought they had now much better submit. When I told him that I believed (as I do), that these valiant people would yet defeat and throw off their invaders and asked him, "And then what will be your British Government's position there?" He replied,

"Oh, that would be very awkward for us!" Fancy Britishers being forced into a position where "it would be very awkward for us" should such a valiant people against the most impossible odds still regain their freedom.

How true is the Zulu saying: "You always hate a man when you have wounded him with a spear!"

"O what a tangled web we weave. When first we practise to deceive."

Though the Italians may be using all the most modern weapons of civilization—planes, bombs, gas, tanks and guns—yet it is the poor untutored Ethiopian patriots that are fighting the true cause of humanity—for theirs is a fight for their homes, their country and their freedom—a higher ideal than any dictator's lust for conquest.

WITHDRAW THE LEGAL RECOGNITION

Well, after all, what can we do now? you may ask. I will tell you. If you believe that a great and shameful wrong has been done—I know of only one thing to do to make redress—I say again if you are convinced of the error. The way lies open, legally and honourably too—for the Anglo-Italian Agreement has been utterly smashed, if ever kept, by the Italian Government. And we now both can, and should withdraw the Legal Recognition, so wrongfully given, of the so-called "conquest."

You may say that it is very difficult to do so now. It is difficult—what of it?—it can and should be done. You will say that to do so is an admission of our mistake. Certainly it would be an admission—that's what makes it difficult; but again, what of that?

I now—to test the feeling of this great audience,—and dearly would I like to see you carry it, but only if by your true convictions—move the following resolution, and if we carry it we may make a little history here in Brisbane to-night.

THE RESOLUTION:

"This meeting realizing the late Anglo-Italian Agreement has become null and void through repeated breaches of the Italian Government (the latest being the seizure of Albania), requests our Australian Government to withdraw their *De Jure* Recognition (i.e., Legal Sanction) of the so-called conquest of Abyssinia, and to make it clear to the world that Australia will in the future neither accept nor recognize any change of territory brought about by violence and armed force."

The resolution, being seconded and then put by the chairman, was carried practically unanimously by an enthusiastic show of nearly a thousand hands—only three or four out of the whole audience being noticed to vote against it.

A NATION'S SOUL.

Is there such a thing as Moral Force in this world? I believe there is.

I have seen enough of war to know unarmed men are helpless. I want to see Great Britain and Australia standing together well prepared for their defence. But behind the guns and beyond the machines there is still that mystical something, nebulous yet vitally real; the soldier might call it morale, the priest a sense of righteousness, the statesman high national ideals. Let us call it to-night a Nation's Soul. If we lose that we lose everything.

In the long run, in that final count in the future's judgment, it is not what the British and Australian people get, but what we do, that matters.

News From Jibuti.

(Continued from page 1, col. 4)

tory. He told me the Italians had been hurriedly forced to withdraw most of their troops to Addis Ababa, and those who remained were almost dying of hunger. There were only 1,600 soldiers of Italy from Assab to the British Somaliland frontier, and there were only two or three white soldiers to sixty black.

Women Violated and Killed

Some women are said to have been captured by the Italians on the road and carried off on the train and violated. One of them was put off the down train at Adala. She tried to board the up train when it

was moving but the Italians threw her down and she was killed outright. Her body was but a mass of torn flesh, but the Italian Inspector searched the corpse to get possession of any money she had had about her. The people of the locality were forced to bury her.

Another woman was also thrown off the train and received several injuries but did not die.

People in Contact With French Imprisoned or Disappear

All people in Ethiopia who have worked with the French or have lived in Jibouti are being imprisoned or taken away to unknown places.

ITALIANS SHOCKED BY GREAT DEFEAT NEAR ADDIS SALIM

Galla Tribesmen Pay Taxes to Ethiopians: Refuse to Pay to Italians

GENERAL ABEBE ARRAGAI, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND EMPEROR'S REPRESENTATIVE

From Our Own Correspondent.

JIBUTI, May 16th, 1939.

News of a crushing defeat of the Italians has arrived here. The blow is said to be so severe that the Italians are much shocked by it.

This happened at a place called Chabba, near Addis Salim. A Galla called Hordofa was in charge of Menelik's horse in these parts. His son was in charge at that time of Prince Lij Yassu, the Emperor Zauditu and Emperor Haile Selassie. A grandson of Hordofa was made a chief by the Italians and asked to collect taxes from the Gallas in those parts. The Galla tribes refused to pay taxes to him, so appealed to Addis Ababa for troops.

The Italians sent a big column of Italian white troops in response, but the Galla tribesmen, who were paying these taxes to the Ethiopians, had already sent word to the Ethiopian armies, and Goazmatch Zaude Asfaw was ready for them.

Last Tuesday the Italian troops crossed the Hawash river and camped in the open, taking precautions against sudden attack. Their precaution prevailed them nothing, for suddenly and without warning the Ethiopians rushed at them from all sides, having crept very near in the dark. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued in which no quarter was asked or given. Grim fighting continued the whole night till the evening of the next day, when all the 3,700 Italian soldiers were killed to a man. None was left alive. Only some black soldiers were able to escape with news of the disaster to

Addis Ababa. An Italian aeroplane was sent to the spot, but found it deserted. The Ethiopians had removed their wounded and buried their dead in the night and had left singing their war songs.

RAS ABEBE ARRAGAI.

I am glad to inform your readers that all the responsible Ethiopians chieftains have sworn allegiance to Ras General Abebe Arragai, and have begged him to accept this responsible position and act as representative of the Emperor. In future the Italians will have to deal with an able Ethiopian chief vested with all powers.

A big Ethiopian attack has taken place at Shola Meda, but full details have not yet come through.

The Italians, seeing that the rainy season is upon them and being short of provisions, have begged the French to assist them by allowing them to take provisions from Jibuti. If this happens it will be another useless betrayal by the French of the just Ethiopian cause. The Italians will never keep their word. They will take benzine and all sorts of provisions and very soon will turn again and start threatening the French.

The French railway company has already re-engaged all their guards and other railway staff, which they had dismissed for lack of work for them.

The French are also in need of the railway to carry stones for their reclamation scheme in Jibuti harbour. They intend to advance the sea wall and join the landing pier with Messageries Maritimes.

A REVIEW

THE DEFEAT OF WAR, by Kenneth Ingram. George Allen & Unwin.

Mr. Ingram reviews the present sad international situation at length, and produces his own scheme for ensuring peace. His intentions are excellent but he fails to understand the character of the Fascist-Nazi menace.

He admits that his scheme is not new, but claims that it is presented in a form capable of capturing the public imagination, whereas without his presentation the protagonists of such a policy may be defeated he says by the retort: "Your policy means war."

His proposals are: Invitation by the British Government to all countries to attend a world conference, the U.S.A., Germany, Italy, Japan and Soviet Russia being particularly invited. With the invitation would go a declaration that the British Government:

(1) Would be prepared under certain conditions to place the whole of its colonial possessions under international mandate, the raw materials and trade interests of such territories being thus made available to all countries on equal terms;

(2) India would be accorded Dominion status at the earliest possible moment.

The agenda of the conference would include:

1. Collateral disarmament.
2. A new international assembly.
3. Election by the new assembly of a court of justice.

4. Facilities to appoint an *ad hoc* tribunal to consider appeals from the decision of the court of justice by those dissatisfied, equitably rather than legally.

5. The question whether the decisions of the tribunal should be enforced by any kind of sanctions or not.

6. Examination of territorial grievances.

7. Absolute pledge of national sovereignties to resort to the court of justice in any international dispute. This is not, Mr. Ingram insists, pledge not to go to war—only a pledge to go to the court of justice first.

8. Currency stabilisation.

The offer of the British Government to hand over its colonies would come into effect when all the countries at the conference, or such majority of them as the British Government considered sufficient, had agreed to accept the

proposals and produced actual assurance that they were ~~capable of doing so~~.

Mr. Ingram declares there must be nothing said to suggest his assembly and court were a reconstruction of the League of Nations. Also he thinks it "impracticable in the present situation to insist on a system of sanctions."

He adds:

"The proposal stands or falls by this declaration that Britain is willing to lead the way by giving up her Colonial possessions. Nothing less than this is a possible condition of the summons to a conference. . . . So long as Britain (and France) retains her imperial claims she is in a false position when she denounces, or in any way obstructs other Powers, which are seeking to acquire imperial extension. . . . So long as we retain Colonial property we are blaming other countries for doing in kind what we ourselves have done."

No territorial or other sacrifice is proposed by Mr. Ingram for the other Powers. Britain alone is to work the miracle by a gesture of self-sacrifice.

Until we have stripped ourselves of the Colonies Mr. Ingram contends, we are in no moral condition to enter such a conference, or to rebuke others for aggressive war.

Because we possess Colonies, we had no right, Mr. Ingram thinks, to oppose Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia or Hitler's dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the League Covenant notwithstanding.

This is, of course, very hard on Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia and any other nation which happens to be menaced. Moreover to carry this idea of divesting Britain of "imperial claims" to its logical conclusion, would it not be necessary to cut off also the Dominions? Certainly the Nazis and Fascists will say so, they are even beginning to agitate for the cutting loose of Scotland.

Does not this idea of mandates require to be more fully thought out?

OUR ENERGETIC WORKERS

Mr. Cooper, Mr. Tedros, Miss Ewing and Mr. Tarring have given valuable assistance at the Bookshop. We need more voluntary aid.

Sales of "N.T. & E.N." at meetings, etc., must not be forgotten. Our energetic circulation secretary, Mr. Smalley, Sanctuary, is eager for more recruits to this valuable work.

A LETTER FROM ITALY

MILAN, April.

Dear Friend,

I have just returned from a business trip to Ethiopia, and I hasten to give you news of myself.

I must confess that I had a very bad impression of the present conditions of our Empire. With great sorrow I noticed everywhere a great lack of fascist spirit, joined with a widespread feeling of disappointment.

"If the Government does not take strong measures, I am convinced that the Empire will end by eating the 'boot,'" to use a saying now current everywhere.

[Idiomatically "la stivale"—"the boot" means Italy from her shape.]

All the pseudo-idealists (many of whom have even risked their lives) who have attempted to find a position in Ethiopia are now without resources.

No work and . . . Imperial wages and stipends. Hence the majority of them have only one desire—to return home. After all, if one is doomed to be unemployed, it is better to be so at home.

Lately reduction of wages in Ethiopia has been so great that life has become impossible. Either the Government is ignorant of the situation or is unable to put a stop to it. It seems strange to say this, but it is the truth. Even the Civil Servants receive at the end of the month only an account on their stipend because they say the Government is without money.

With regard to the army, the situation is probably worse. A friend of mine had occasion to talk with a major of the Regular Army. He was full of complaints against the fascist militia, which always receives preferential treatment.

The news, and I heard that myself, is that the Governor of Addis Ababa has requisitioned all lorries with tanks used for the transportation of water and has assigned them to the military units which are intended to occupy Jibuti. It is not known when the attack will take place, but everybody at Massawa knows that it is being prepared.

There are many things I should like to tell you, but to do so I would have to fill a big book.

To-day fascism is supported almost solely by persons of no ideas, indifferent to everything.

Those who went to Spain were either youngsters who call themselves fascists because they were brought up with fascism and know of no other party, or unemployed to whom it was promised that at their return they would be preferred for any job going.

In addition to these not a few jail-birds to whom too large promises were made; on their return they would be "rehabilitated," all their bad records wiped out and a secure job found for them.

To all who enlisted for service in Spain it was promised: (1) if in work, their places would be kept open and if unemployed a job would be assured to them on their return; (2) a subsidy of 500 lire to their families during all the time of their service in Spain, in addition to 5 lire daily paid to them personally; (3) a bonus on demobilisation of 2,000 to plain soldiers, of 5,000 to sergeants, of 10,000 lire to sub and lieutenants.

They were cheated. All those who have returned have received absolutely nothing. Now job was found for them whether they were employed or not when they enlisted.

Here in Milan the resentment against this shabby treatment was great. A group of these ex-soldiers last February proposed to put on the uniform they had in Spain, and go to protest to head of the Fascist Party here. The authorities head of this; they were arrested and made to sign a document forbidding them to wear the uniform without special permission. Again they were told that the authorities would look into their cases.

Nothing has been done, of course, and the unrest is as great as before.

One hears rumours that concentration camps are being prepared around Milan.

In this last fortnight the number of Germans here has greatly increased. Although dressed in mufti everybody can see they are officers. Many of them openly say so. Hundreds of lorries loaded with munitions and military equipment came here from Germany by the Brescia-Milan car track.

A German submarine base has been established at Cagliari (Sardinia). It is said it is an important one.

I wish I could tell you more, but my time is pressing.

We all feel that Hitler is now master of Italy and you can imagine what our feelings are on that point.

Best wishes to you all.

INDIA'S ATTITUDE TO THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

The question is being energetically canvassed in India at the present moment as to what the attitude of the Indian people should be if a war were to break out in Europe between Germany and Italy on the one hand and the Peace Bloc that is being formed for the purpose of countering the Nazi-Fascist threat of further aggression on the other.

Anglo-Indian papers are busily engaged in preaching a homily to us that, since all Indians are democratically minded and are intent on political freedom, they must back the Government of India in all the measures it may deem fit to take not only with full sympathy but active support to the extent of their ability, for the Government of India will only help Great Britain who in herself fighting for democracy and the independence of small States.

The President of the Congress declares on the other hand that the war, if it came, would be an imperialist war and that it would be the duty of the Indians in such a contingency to give no sort of help to Great Britain, an imperialist Power.

The opposite points of view thus placed before the public have at least one thing in common, viz. that though the decision on war or peace and the amount of military and financial assistance to be rendered by India rests solely with the Government of India, it is realised by everyone that the attitude of the Indian people, whether of warm support or frigid aloofness or active non-co-operation or direct opposition, will make a great deal of difference to the effectiveness of the measures which the Government of India may decide upon.

So far as the Government is concerned, it has done all that was within its power to render abortive any hostile designs that the people may cherish. It has made opposition to a recruiting campaign a penal offence; it has amended the Government of India Act, held forth before us as sacrosanct, so as to assume full control over the executive power over Provincial Governments in war (the legislative power being already controlled); it has told the Princes, though this was quite unnecessary, that the Paramount Power retains the authority, whatever changes their internal system of government may undergo, to see that the whole of their resources are placed at the disposition of the Paramount Power in case of need.

The Government of India has thus left no stone unturned to crush opposition in India, should it show itself, to a war that Great Britain may wage in co-operation with other countries.

But from the siren voices of the Anglo-Indian papers it would appear as if the Government of India is not at all certain, in spite of all precautions that it has taken, that Indian opposition would in fact be crushed by this way, and that even if it were, something more than an attitude of sullen non-co-operation or indifference is required on the part of the Indian people if India is to pull her full weight in war. It is recognised that India's warmest sympathies must be engaged on the side of Great Britain in the coming war. For this purpose the genuine anti-aggression feeling of the Indian populace is being played up to, and to those who would remain cold to such a plea it is pointed out that India herself stands in imminent danger of being attacked by the anti-comintern Powers.

This much may be conceded at once, that Great Britain does not stand for any expansionist aims in this war. The utmost that can be said is that she has in mind the defence of her existing Empire against any possible threat that may develop in future from the growing strength of the aggressive Powers.

But the immediate threat is against the smaller States. Should not then India join wholeheartedly the Powers preparing to resist aggression, some for self-preservation and some for less self-regarding reasons?

In answering this question, it cannot be ignored that India, in coming into the Peace Front, will be standing beside Great Britain and will be led by her. And who can be certain, with the recent history of Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia and Spain fresh in our memory, that she can be relied upon to take a firm stand against unprovoked aggression? We know how the British Government betrayed these countries, and there is every likelihood of its betraying other countries when expediency points in that direction.

Mistrust in the Government's intentions is general. Only the other day the Leader of the Opposition Liberals said in the House of Commons: "For more than seven years the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir John Simon) has been the evil genius of British foreign policy. It will be difficult for a Cabinet of which he remains a member to

present that aspect of unity and resolve which the need of inspiring confidence in our friends imperatively demands. Men like the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary (Sir Samuel Hoare), who have already once sabotaged the policy of collective security, ought to make way for men like Mr. Eden and Mr. Churchill who have consistently advocated it."

Sir Archibald Sinclair is the last man to make party capital out of national and international danger. If Mr. Chamberlain had resigned, and with him these sinister figures after he found out that the Munich policy of surrender, retreat and betrayal was a mistake, it would have encouraged the Indians to put their trust in the reconstructed Government's real desire to stop aggression. But, as it is, it takes far more credulity than we possess to believe implicitly that, if a suitable opportunity offers, other sacrifices will not be contemplated.

In the Czechoslovakian affair last September, Mr. Chamberlain used all his influence in favour of France proving false to her pledge to the Czech State, besides Great Britain herself being false to her pledge to the League. With this happening before our eyes, we cannot set much store by the pledges which Great Britain and France are giving to other countries.

It may be that the British Government has learnt wisdom and is now honestly crying halt to its policy of so-called appeasement, which really spelt encouragement of fascism. But those of us who are watching the scene will take some time to be reassured that even now it stands for that collective security which it disregarded so far.

India, moreover, has other considerations to take into account. Assuming that the objective of the British Government is right, the plans and policies that it will pursue for the attainment of the objective will be its own. We can have no say in framing these. The Government of India itself will have no say either before the war breaks out or after. The Indian people will only be concerned to pour their treasure and to provide cannon fodder, leaving it to their masters to make what use they might of them. Such a position is most humiliating.

India, it may be said, has no voice in military affairs even in normal times; how can she expect to have a voice in times of such extreme danger? India has no voice because she is still a dependent country; she would have it when, like the Dominions, she becomes self-governing. Let her then become self-governing if active help is expected of her. Let it be for her to decide of her own free will where she will stand—whether she will join the anti-aggression alliance; if so, what help she will render; and what will be the kind of peace she will press for at the end of the war—for this last is very important.

The plea is made that it would be to India's own national interest to take her side by Britain in the war, and that it would be suicidal for her to refuse help because such refusal might in practice convert a sure success into a sure defeat—of both Britain and India together.

Would India like to see Britain go under if with her India herself would go under?

If India's help is really so essential, it would certainly be worth Britain's while to do everything in her power to evoke such help by timely concessions. What is a grant of self-government to India beside the defeat in a world war, which is said to be the only result of her standing aside? Would Britain prefer fascist domination of the world to India coming into her own? It is for Britain to answer. If, even in face of such a tremendous menace, she chooses to treat India as a dependency, then it will be plain that either she does not put much value on India's help or does not reck much of India's non-co-operation—or both.

—From "The Servant of India," of Poona.

A woman enters a general shop in Berlin and asks for a quarter pound of butter.

The shopkeeper looks askance at her and shakes the head as to say "No."

"Let me have, then, an egg instead."

The shopkeeper lifts his arms in great irritation.

"Sorry, but could you not let me have a quarter of coffee?"

This time the shopkeeper cannot any longer be silent.

"Listen, my dear woman: have you come here to buy or to talk politics?"

Correspondence

THE FORCES OF JUSTICE AND MERCY.

The most spectacular crime of to-day is the massacre of Chung-king, where thousands and thousands of peaceable, law-abiding folk, in their own homes, were pounced upon and murdered by the Japs, as Mussolini's son murdered Abyssinians.

What should we think of an Englishman who killed his neighbours' cats, wounding three or four for every one he destroyed? The country would resound with our horror at his cruelty.

Mr. Chamberlain himself would raise an eyebrow if it were salmon or trout so handled, and not human beings. For he must have bowels of compassion. His sympathies run on "little sets of circular rails which never overtake one another and never get anywhere," like those of Dickens' Mrs. General. Like her, too, he "gets rid of difficulties by cramming them into cupboards and saying they have no existence."

Hitler's persecution of the Jews; Japan's massacre of the Chinese; Mussolini's torture of the Abyssinians—these are things "never mentioned" by Mr. Chamberlain.

But what is happening to us English people?

With such leadership we are losing our souls. The devils of exclusiveness and sloth have got such a hold over the Churches that their favourite theme is: Let satan roar, my children! Be courteous, be patient, do not aggravate him!

Spectacular Crimes call for Spectacular "Golden Deeds." Thousands and thousands of innocent Chinese are being butchered. Why should not thousands and thousands of American and English pacifists go to Japan to remonstrate with the kindly Japs; to China to succour their victims; to Germany and to Italy to persuade the Germans and Italians to wake up from their dream.

It is our fault. We drove them to it. We drove them mad. Now we are sorry. We want them to forgive us. Want that Italy whose love of children was a lesson to every thoughtful tourist; who had no "degraded poor," no "hooligans," no "allotment thieves," no tuberculous milk, no blind alley occupations for youth. How to mobilise the forces of justice and mercy, for the brotherhood of man? How best to help those Germans and Italians who recognise that their countries have taken a wrong turning, and must get back to the main road of progress or perish miserably?

No nation can hold its own intellectually, or even physically, which is behind the times morally; and the Natural History of Man shows steady moral progress through ever widening groups of mutual goodwill.

Reversion to an outgrown moral standard racially entails the triumph of stupidity in every field of thought. It is self-destructive, too, for Germans who are taught to bully German-Jews will bully one another; and Italians who are trained to murder Abyssinian babies will lose their pity for their own.

And to think of all the unhappiness, the unnecessary, avoidable unhappiness produced by such a cultivation of unkindness! The pity of it!

Let us at least do what we can to help, and one way of helping is to send our pennies to the cause of Abyssinia, so I enclose a pound, dear Editor, and am

Yours, etc., ONLOOKER.

A CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

"New Times and Ethiopia News" is almost the only paper that gives true accounts of what is going on.

There seems a "conspiracy of silence" as far as Abyssinia is concerned, which makes the public think that the whole question belongs to the past, and that we should, as Mr. Duff Cooper said last year, "let bygones be bygones," which is a vast mistake.

Haddington. J. E. FERME.

Thank God for you! It seems like David against Goliath of Gath.

Was there ever a more traitorous Premier than ours?

What a curse this Chamberlain family has been! The father gave us that wicked Boer War. Austin agreed with Mussolini to appropriate Abyssinia, and Neville has betrayed our nation, the League, Spain, China and the Czechs. He is without any moral principle.

When read, I put the "New Times" on the waiting-room table at the Ely Station. God bless you. Bath. "FREE CITIZEN."

The authoritarian pestilence is in the air and is infecting us imperceptibly—people are even here beginning to equate "Government" with "Nation." In a (private) debate I had some scathing things to say about Mr. Chamberlain and I evoked a storm of reproach, as if I had done some treacherous thing to my own people. As a Civil Servant I feel I must be guarded in my words. Opinion here is uncritical and uninformed and of the "What do you think of our wonderful Mr. Chamberlain" type.

Several of my colleagues read the paper with interest, and I should like to see it in the public library.

From the bottom of my heart I wish your enterprise success. Southern Rhodesia. A CIVIL SERVANT.

A Fascist Jail in France.

(Continued from page 8, col. 3)

The prisoners lined up in single file in front of what I guessed was the kitchen door, and I did likewise. My neck hurt me atrociously. The evening meal consisted of 15 or so boiled beans, which I could not swallow, one sardine, a slice of bread and a cup of water.

I examined the prisoners. All were avidly devouring this abominable and insufficient meal. Their faces, all of them, were thin and sunken and bruised, and the life in their eyes seemed extinguished by fatigue.

At the end of a few minutes two Senegalese, laughing, went up to a group of Spaniards and emptied the remains of a dish of rice they had been eating on to the prisoners' plates. In protest one of these threw his plate on the ground. It would have been better had he restrained himself. He was beaten and trampled on then and there, while a lieutenant of the Mobile Guards gave his encouragement.

FASCIST SPIRIT IN FRENCH ARMY: SPANISH OFFICERS ILL-TREATED AND ROBBED BY FRENCH MOBILE GUARDS

Three Spanish officers who had just been arrested in the concentration camp of Argelès now came in accompanied by two guards and handcuffed. As soon as they saw the lieutenant they asked him politely what they were accused of and affirmed they had committed no crime of any kind. Finally one of them said he would like to have a lawyer.

"A lawyer?" was the sneering answer. "When one gets defeated as you got defeated, one always looks for someone else to defend one. You towards! There aren't any lawyers here. You are in a prison, but as you are at the same time in a camp you won't get any kind of a trial. Is that clear enough?"

One of the three, a colonel, began to protest in a quiet manner against their groundless arrest. A Mobile Guard wrenched off his service stripes, threw his cap on the ground, and bawled at the other prisoners (who have seen such outrages already). "Looks nice, your colonel, now, eh?" Followed a flood of insults that I cannot put in writing.

Before being shaved the newcomers were completely undressed in the open air and in front of all the prisoners. The linings of their clothes were ripped open

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under pretext of finding articles which did not exist; the heels were torn off their shoes for the same reason. Their suitcases, personal objects, watches, papers, notebooks and overcoats were taken away. Then they were made to sign a paper saying they had brought nothing with them to Collioure except their suits and their shirts. At last, after having their finger-prints taken, they were told to give their names and particulars; these were inscribed on forms of which the only phrase I managed to read was: "To be filled in at the moment of arrest."

Two of the officers signed with tears of rage. The third, who was the colonel already ill-treated, said he would sign only when he knew the charge against him.

The answer he got was that the lieutenant didn't know it himself, and that if he asked any more questions he would be transferred to the "Special." (I will describe in a further article what this frightful "Special" consists of; it is the inner penitentiary regime of this jail).

FRENCH PENAL CODE VIOLATED

But to-day I want to state that at no moment did I consider myself inside a fascist camp. No! It is not a question of "a camp." This place is one arbitrarily founded and run purposely in this despotic manner. But the French have had the Dreyfus case. They have always known how to bring about the triumph of the sacred rights of individual liberty.

I have just ascertained which articles in the Penal Code can cause the condemnation of the guards at Collioure and of those who have given them their orders. Article 120 applies to the guards (six months to two years in prison); Article 115 to the minister who would refuse to order the immediate cessation of this unheard-of scandal. Article 119 provides for the loss of civic rights of such public servants who refuse or neglect to notify illegal or arbitrary detentions whosoever they may occur.

FREE THE HEROES OF SPANISH INDEPENDENCE

The fact that, under no pretext, will French people tolerate the return of the

practice called "Lettre de cachet," which was abolished during the French Revolution, has got to be brought to the notice of the high authorities of our country.

Either let it be a normal form of camp where the families of refugees may come to visit them, or else the Law Courts. Between these two alternatives there is no room for acts which are illegal.

On the one hand we must constrain the authorities to free the heroes of Spanish independence; on the other to have punished all the accomplices engaged in the biggest scandal of illegal detention that France has ever known.

II.

PERPIGNAN, May 13th.

At 7 in the evening the 250 human beings imprisoned in the Fort of Collioure are locked up in the cells. The fort is well suited to the purpose, as it has a number of dungeons and vaults used for storing arms.

Twelve of the darkest, coldest and least hygienic of these have been selected; the prisoners have been divided into twelve sections and are lodged in these places never intended for human beings to live in. Naturally they are kept there without any books or newspapers or news of the outside world; nor is there even any light. An hour goes by in whispered talk, and at 8 o'clock, exhaustion having overcome everything else, the ward goes to sleep.

A book could be written on what the Spaniards told me that night, but here I am going to state only what I saw with my own eyes.

A PRIME MINISTER'S NEPHEW AND A LECTURER AT THE SORBONNE

Amongst the prisoners is Nitti, the nephew of the ex-Prime Minister of Italy, who fought as a volunteer in the International Brigades. He told me about Professor Sotelo, aggregate in mathematics at Madrid University. A few weeks ago, at the request of Monsieur Maurain, head of the Faculty of Sciences in Paris, the professor gave several lectures at the Paris Sorbonne. After this he was arrested and taken to Collioure, where he is now undergoing the same treatment as all the other prisoners. Two Basque colonels, Isaias and Villela, of the 27th Division, are also here, as is the elite of the Spanish and International combatants.

NEITHER BEDS NOR BEDDING

At 5 a.m. the bell rings and a mobile guard come to open the door of our cell. The prisoners, who have slept on the bare stone floor without any covering whatever and huddled together for the sake of a little warmth, get up and make a rush for the water-tap. This single tap is supposed to supply the morning ablutions of 250 men. To get at all clean by means of this would take several hours. So most of the prisoners have to wash in water already used by others. The spectacle is revolting.

About 5.30 a whistle blows and the 12 groups have to get in line in front of the kitchen. The French flag is run up on top of the fort. In every passage and at each gate appear the Senegalese, with their bayonets—the guards.

Each prisoner receives a tiny slice of sour bread and a cup of water, less black than yellow in colour, and which has an appalling taste; the mobile guard calls it "coffee."

HARD AND USELESS LABOUR

Then begins the exhausting day. From 7 to 11.45 and from 1 to 7 at night, heavily guarded by the Senegalese, who do not permit one moment's rest, each prisoner is forced to perform the most humiliating and totally useless physical labour, such as digging ditches, filling them in and digging them up again, etc.

My section had to construct a wall out of heavy stone, which, quite obviously, was going to serve no purpose whatever, and I had to drag and carry large blocks; the use of a wheelbarrow would have saved very considerable fatigue. One of the Senegalese was determined that I should carry stones on my back; to do so I had to be helped by two of the Spaniards.

In another group, working next to mine the first day, was a Catalan (they told me he is a violinist) so exhausted and sick that his companions had to come to his aid every ten minutes and help him to make a show of digging, so as to save him from the tortures of the "Special section."

Most odious of all are perhaps the insults ceaselessly hurled at the prisoners by the Senegalese. The mobile guards urge the Negroes to give the Spanish Republicans no peace. In front of me they said:

"These men are dangerous criminals. Every one has killed dozens of men and women in Spain. If you don't watch them ceaselessly and frighten them they will kill you."

The Senegalese shouted at us the whole time: "Bandits! Assassins! get on with your work, you dogs! You swine!" and a lot of other insults and epithets.

Between 7 and noon and 1 and 7 at night it is impossible to stop work, impossible to eat or drink anything. It seems to me that such a regime is well calculated to kill the strongest of men.

EVER-PRESENT HUNGER

To this must be added hunger, ever-present atrocious hunger. The meals of the day amount to the value of half a normal meal, while the work itself and the sea air give one an added hunger.

To-morrow I will describe the Punishment section, known as the "Special section."

But already is not the guilt clear of those who have illegally arrested and arbitrarily imprisoned the Spanish ex-combatants who have covered themselves with glory? Have they not done this in defiance of our tradition of hospitality, and most particularly in defiance of our Penal Code, which protects the liberty of the individual?

A "Collioure Committee" must be founded to deal by legal means with this scandal. It is necessary to arouse public reaction. French people are tired of seeing their country dishonoured and its traditions flouted. And this they will know how to prove.

III.

PERPIGNAN, May 15th.

When one has established a contact, as I have just done, with the Special Section, the Punishment Section of the Fort of Collioure, which corresponds (although it is still worse) to the "Reprisals Annex" of the concentration camp of Argelès, one feels the great political danger that threatens French democrats through the free hand given the Government, uncontrolled by public opinion or by Parliament, in the matter of the internment of 450,000 Spanish Republicans. The hatred manifested to these people who have shown the world the highest example of the resistance of a nation has transformed the centres of welcome to the refugees, which are the only legal ones, into prisons established in the open air, into fascist jails.

It rained the third day of my voluntary imprisonment in the Fort of Collioure. When it rains the prisoners do not go out, because that would entail their guards getting as wet as they do themselves. On the other hand, those who have been put into the "Special" go out, rain or shine, as I myself witnessed.

VICTIMS OF SADISTIC TREATMENT

These men's eyes are no longer human; the look in them is like that of hunted beasts. They seem to have lost all notion of ordinary things; they are brutalised by the sadistic treatment, of which they are daily the victims. So dirty, so emaciated, so hideous have they become that every man in the Fort is ready to put up with the most horrible or violent treatment so as to avoid being sent to the "Special."

HARD WORK WITHOUT TOOLS

Deprived of any kind of tool, they are forced to do the hardest and most degrading kinds of work with their bare hands. Every day they have to clean out the lavatory pans and pick up all kinds of filth. Their clothes have become soiled through doing this. They have no others they can change into and their hygiene is absolutely non-existent. Day-long they receive blows, and are forbidden to speak one word to each other under pain of being put into cells, where they would be kept locked up day and night. And none of us may speak to them. They receive only three slices of bread per day and have only water to drink. The foulest insults are hurled at them, from which Hitlerian political comments are not lacking. They are morally tortured by being told that they are going to be given up at any moment to Franco. Thus is Nazi terror imposed on men whose conduct has been irreproachable.

A NAZI SPY IN CHARGE

I am able to affirm without fear of contradiction that the head of the "Special" is an ex-Polish Legionary, a Hitlerian agent who fought in the ranks of Franco and was made prisoner by the Republicans on the Ebro front. This man acted as a spy in the camp at Argelès, where he used to point out the militant anti-fascists to the police, until the day when he was discovered by some Frenchmen. He wears civilian clothes and is the absolute master of the "Special." He has only to lift a finger to designate who shall be put into it. I saw a man who was literally dying of exhaustion condemned to it for "shamming." And numerous are those who are sent to this section and who are seen no more.

NO VISITORS ALLOWED

We were called into line to hear the following notice read out: "By order of the Commander of the Fort, all refugees being considered as on a basis of equality, individual parcels will no longer be distributed to them but will be taken to the kitchen."

Thus disappears the last link with the outside world. What is going to become of these men in Collioure? No books, no papers, and every letter opened and censored coming in and going out. Each one that even suggests that life is not absolutely pleasant inside the Fort is torn up on the spot and its writer subjected to sanctions. Every single thing that comes to us from outside is confiscated and placed in the "bureau," including tobacco and stamps. When one of the detained men is visited by his family, the wife, or the brother, or whoever has tried to see him, is perfunctorily told this is impossible, no information is given them on the prisoner and afterwards the prisoner himself is insulted or ridiculed.

FOURTEEN YUGO-SLAVS HUNGER STRIKE

A month ago fourteen Yugo-Slavs went on hunger-strike and were transported from here to the camps when it was known that the League of the Rights of Man had been informed of the conditions. Three of them, Peter Dapcevic, Svetislav Doroteire and Fodil Jakie have just come back to Collioure and are terrifying to look at. In the Fort are also Dr. Polack and the famous theatrical designer, the *metteur en scène* Heitz.

A veritable crime is being perpetrated in France, and I have seen it with my own eyes. Those who are responsible for it must be punished. But first of all, and that immediately, the Government must put a stop to this unheard-of scandal.

If the Government tries to ignore it the Collioure Committee will make it very difficult for it to adopt that attitude.

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When writing to us, would Correspondents from Abroad kindly use stamps of various denomination?

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Wanted, Furnished Room, with or without kitchenette, for married couple from Prague. Would in return give daily help in cooking; wife is excellent Continental cook; English references. Please write Box No. 3.

DOMESTIC SITUATION WANTED

Excellent Daily Cook from Prague wishes to work also a few days a week or at supper parties and similar special occasions. English references. Ask for trial supper.—Box No. 2.

A Jewish husband and wife from Czechoslovakia, and also two sisters, seek domestic employment in this country.—Friends who are willing to employ any of them please apply Box 10, "New Times and Ethiopia News."

TRUE
NEWSFEARLESS
COMMENTS

NEW TIMES

NO PARTY
TIES
TIED
TO TRUTH

FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM AGAINST FASCISM

FRANCO CELEBRATES HIS VICTORY. BUT SPANISH MOTHERS MOURN THEIR DEAD.



A photograph taken during the Civil War.

NEO-FEUDALISM

By E. A. Johnstone

NOT HITLER, BUT THYSEN,
DICTATOR OF GERMANY

That boys of twenty, who have no vote, are to be conscripted, whilst there is no conscription of wealth, and armament firms continue to pile up profits, is a fact which must cause grave misgivings. It has been frequently stated that Mr. Chamberlain represents Big Business interests in England; whether this is so or not, it may be of interest to note a few facts regarding the position of the Industrial Magnates in Germany, and their relation towards the Government and the middle class.

In his book entitled "Hitler Over Europe," published in 1934, Ernest Henri writes: "Not Hitler, but Thyssen, the great magnate of the Ruhr, is the real prime mover of German Fascism. . . . Thyssen since 1927 . . . has been a member, the chief financier, and the real inspirer of the Hitler party. He became the closest personal friend of the leader. Hitler took no important step without first consulting Thyssen and his friends. . . .

"Thyssen is sole king over coal and steel; the keys of German economy are in his possession. For now something is happening that in the political histories of all countries is still without example: Thyssen, a private industrialist, is formally appointed by the Government to be once for all dictator of the entire German-West industrial district, the seat of heavy industry. . . .

"He is an integral part of the Government; his monopoly over the most important raw materials and sources of energy in the country—not only coal and iron, but also electricity, gasworks, manufacturing industry, etc.—is a part of the régime. . . . No decision may be made without him.

"He determines all policy as regards wages, social conditions and personnel, if local governors of provinces . . . appoint an official who displeases him, he can veto the appointment. He is the Nazi Party itself.

INDUSTRIAL MAGNATES RULE

"This is quite a definite system, its name is feudalism . . . a type of a private monopoly dukedom. Such a dukedom is today the Ruhr. . . . and Thyssen is the new feudal lord. From here he governs the rest of the country, economically and politically. . . . And the first really big action of this new united oligarchy in Germany is then truly sensational; it is the grand concentric cartel-attack on the consumers, such as Germany has not yet experienced. . . .

"At the beginning of the century Germany had 300 industrial cartels; under the Republic in 1925, 1,500; to-day under Hitler, there are more than 2,100, covering already more than half of all industrial products.

"The Brownshirts keep guard over each new monopoly; competition is a crime against the State. Result: Prices leap up 20-30 per cent. . . . But the price to leap first of all to the greatest extent is that of those products coming from Thyssen's territory: the price of steel castings and jointless piping rises up to 100 per cent., of bar and hoop iron up to 50 per cent., of special steels up to 120 per cent.

THE PEOPLE PAY

"The people pay . . . Hitler and Thyssen overthrew the middle class. This is a historical event. Never yet has such an entire social class been so dealt with in such a short space of time as has been the case with the lower middle class in Germany. Never yet has the partner of an alliance been so rapidly, so cynically, and so brutally betrayed and trodden in the dust."

What has happened in Germany should serve as a warning, and cause us to guard more closely our heritage of freedom and democracy.

A FASCIST JAIL ESTABLISHED IN FRANCE

THE HELL OF COLLIOURE

By Frederic Vergés

The following articles have just appeared in "l'Humanité." Their author was able to get into the Fort of Collioure at the expense of becoming himself a prisoner there. Everyone with any sense of justice is outraged by the infamous and scandalous treatment imposed on the Spanish Republicans and the ex-combatants in the International Brigades by order of the French authorities. Revelations of conditions such as those at Collioure, in labour-camps where the men are treated like convicts, and in very many refugee centres demonstrate that, short of training machine-guns at the frontier on to the fleeing thousands from Catalonia, France is as Fascist in its attitude to the Republicans of Spain as are the totalitarian States and the régime of Franco.

None of the prisoners in the Fort of Collioure is there for any crime or law-breaking. To be a Spanish Republican or an ex-International Brigadier suffices. The author of these articles will be warmly congratulated for his most courageous undertaking, his exposure of the hideous state of things and his call to the people of France to make it cease immediately, and to have those guilty of permitting it to continue to be punished.—(Editor "N.T. and E.N.")

PERPIGNAN, May 12th.

I am a fugitive from the hell of Collioure. I have been a self-constituted prisoner there, determined to get into the fort and describe the conditions.

How I was able to get into this *bagno* I can tell you, because I am going to relate everything down to the last detail.

Out of this new Bastille, this fort with ponderous walls, one could notice groups of Spaniards coming, heavily guarded; they went up the road that leads to the other fort, Miradon, which faces that of Collioure. They were engaged on some kind of exhausting road-work.

BEATEN WITH OX-THONGS BY SENEGALESE GUARDS

I saw my chance; the Senegalese guards had a moment of inattention, and I slipped in among the working prisoners, spade in hand.

Half an hour later, at 6 in the evening, with the greatest ease I crossed the threshold of the jail that France has set up for Republicans. I hadn't gone ten yards across the first courtyard when a Senegalese pushed at me brandishing an ox-thong, and gave me a frightful blow with it on the back of the neck. I thought I had been found out, but it wasn't that. All around me political refugees were being treated the same way and protecting their faces with their arms. It was the signal for "la soupe"—supper.

EMACIATED PRISONERS DEVOUR ABOMINABLE AND INSUFFICIENT MEAL

One of the tormentors, dressed in the French army uniform, began to shout "La soupe, you dogs; la soupe!"

(Continued on page 7, col. 1)



The Badge the Italian Legionaries will wear in Franco's Parade.

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Photograph of One of Franco's Victims.

Issued by Sylvia Pankhurst at 3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, and printed by The Walthamstow Press, Ltd., Guardian House, Forest Road, Walthamstow, E.17 (T.U.).

25

68

C. O.

Mr. Blackburne. 19/5/39.

Mr. Paskin. 20/5

Mr. Paskin for 22/5

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

s/o for Mr. Paskin's signature.

Downing Street.

May, 1939.

2 DRAFTS.

MISS E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Dear Madam,

Mr. MacDonald has asked me

to write to you in reply to your

(21) letter of the 21st April, about the

wish of Mr. Hidaru to be joined by

his brother who is now in Kenya.

The Governor of Kenya has just

informed Mr. MacDonald that Mr. Ato

Maasho, It is understood that he is
who is actually the cousin

and not the brother of Mr. Hidaru,

has arranged to leave Nairobi by

train for Juba in the Sudan on the

29th of this month.

.....

Private Secretary.

(Endo. in
No. 1)

FURTHER ACTION.

23
GOVERNMENT HOUSE
NAIROBI

KENYA

69

8th May, 1939.

Dear Creasy,

Extract requested on 38/28/4/39 Kenya.

I fancy it was you who got my personal telegram to Freeston about the critical position of the banking account of the Nairobi Municipality, and I am very grateful for the prompt action you took on the matter.

2. Now another point on which I would be grateful if you would put me wise. I have had a letter from Sylvia Pankhurst, editor of the "New Times ^{and} Ethiopia News" asking me to permit one of the ^{English} women who is working at the Ethiopian refugee camp, Isiolo, to write articles on the refugee camp for the paper. The paper has a somewhat peculiar advisory board and I believe it does a good deal of anti-Italian and pro-Abyssinian propaganda, and I don't want to make things difficult between the Italians and our refugee camp especially at a time when we seem to have a chance of getting the refugees back into Italian East Africa. I could of course have the articles censored before despatch, but my own feeling is that I prefer to find some excuse for refusing permission. I should be grateful for guidance in the matter, and especially as to how Sylvia Pankhurst's paper is regarded in England.

Yours sincerely,

G. H. CREASY, ESQ., O.B.E.,
COLONIAL OFFICE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

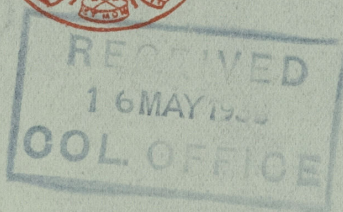
R Brooke-Coppham

KENYA
No.

284

dm

GA



22.
GOVERNMENT HOUSE
NAIROBI
KENYA

70

10 May, 1939.

Sir,

20.
With reference to your despatch No. 277 of the 25th April on the subject of the desire of Ato K. Maasho to join his brother in the Sudan, I have the honour to inform you that Ato Maasho has arranged to leave Nairobi by train for Juba on the 29th of this month.

The Government of the Sudan has been informed of the arrangements made.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

W. Hanay
for G O V E R N O R.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

MALCOLM MACDONALD, M.P.,

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,

DOWNING STREET,

LONDON, S.W. 1.

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

EDITOR - E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

21.

71

All Communications to :

ESP/DH

21st April, 1939.

"WEST DENE"

3 CHARTERIS ROAD
WOODFORD GREEN
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone: BUCKhurst 2463

Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P.,
The Colonial Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1.

Your Ref. :

Dear Mr. MacDonald,

Our Ref. :

In reply to your letter of the 20th April,

Advisory Board:

NANCY CUNARD

A. EIDENSCHENK-PATIN

General Secretary:

International League of Mothers
and Educators for Peace.
Ancien Membre
Conseil Supérieur de
l'Instruction publique.

ISABEL FRY

PHILIP HOPKINS

Chairman,
West of England
Abyssinia Association.

Dr. HUGENHOLTZ

President,
Dutch Society
for the
Liberation of Ethiopia.

F. L. LUCAS

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

Colonel MAURICE SPENCER

Rev. V. ZIAPKOFF

President,
Union of Young People's
Evangelical Associations
in Bulgaria.

18/5 referring to Mr. Hidaru's brother, I send you a copy
of your letter to me of February 13th. Also an
extract from a letter which I received from Mr.
Hidaru, and which was posted to me on the 15th
November, 1938.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

RECEIVED

24 APR 1939

C.O. REC'D

COPY.

Colonial Office,
Downing Street,
S.W.1.

13th February, 1939.

Dear Madam,

Mr. MacDonald has asked me to write, with reference to your letter of the 21st January, to tell you that he has informed the Governor of Kenya of your request that the journey to the Sudan of Mr. Hidaru's brother should be expedited.

Yours truly,

(signed) Gerald Creary
Private Secretary

Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

Extract of letter from Mr. Hidaru,
15th November, 1938.

" To-day, Captain R.C.R. Whalley C.B.E.,
Frontier Agent Boma Plateau, under whom I served
as Interpreter, Translator and Consular Clerk at
H.M.'s Consulate S.W.Ethiopia at Maji, for over
4 years, (who knew Kidane personally) informed
me that he have received a letter from the Civil
Secretary Sudan Government Khartoum, including
a copy of your letter to the Colonial Office, and
copies of letters from the Foreign and Colonial
offices in London, in connection with K. Maasho,
and asking him if he have any objection of Kidane's
joining me here in Boma. He has kindly promised
me that he will not object. "

C. O.

46597/1B/39.

19
74

Mr. Costley-White. 18/4

Mr. Paskin. 19/4

Mr. Creasy. 20/4 p.

Mr. Parkinson.

Mr. Tomlinson.

Sir C. Bottomley.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

For Mr. Creasy's signature.

Downing Street,

20 April, 1939.

Dear Mr. Henderson,

Mr MacDonald has asked me to write
~~I am writing~~ in continuation

and of my letter of the 17th of April, to

~~inform you that on making enquiries I~~

~~have found that~~ there is no very recent

information available here concerning

the wish of Mr. Hidaru to be joined by

his brother, who is now in Kenya.

A despatch went to the Governor of

Kenya in February informing him that

permission had been given for the

brother, whose full name is

Ato Kidane Maasho, to go to the Sudan,

but since then nothing further has been heard from Kenya.
The Governor is now being asked ~~for a~~
~~what on the matter the position is,~~
~~report~~ and Mr. MacDonald will ~~no doubt~~

^{again} write to you ~~himself~~ when the Governor's

reply has been received.

Yours sincerely

(sgd) P. Creasy.

P. Creasy

DRAFT.

(16)

ARTHUR HENDERSON, ESQ.,

K.C., M.P.

(6)

copy to Kenya (10)

FURTHER ACTION.

Copy and copy 16 to Gov. in same L.F. as directed on d.h. to Miss Pankhurst. ✓

C. O.

46597/1B/39,

18

Mr. Costley-White. 18/4

Mr. Paskin 19/4.

Mr. Creasy. 19.4.39 P.

Mr. Parkinson.

Mr. Tomlinson.

Sir C. Bottomley.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

75

Downing Street,

20 April, 1939.

For Mr. Creasy's signature.

Dear Madam,

I am writing in continuation

of my letter of the 14th of April to

inform you that on making enquiries I

have found that there is no recent

information available here concerning

the desire of Mr. Hidar^u to be joined

by his brother, who is now in Kenya.

The Governor of Kenya is, however, being

^{what the position is,}
asked ~~for a report~~ and Mr. MacDonald

^{communicate with you again}
will ~~no doubt write to you himself~~

^{has then}
when the Governor's reply ~~is~~ received.

Yours truly,

(sgd) G. Creasy

P. Sany

DRAFT.

MISS E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

(15)

copy to Kenya (20)

FURTHER ACTION.

Copy and copy of § 1 of
14 headed "Extract
from letter to
Mr. MacDonald from
Miss Pankhurst, 13.4.39"
to Gov. L.F. cons.
ref. § 2 of No. 6.

30



16
76

April 15th, 1939.

The Colonial Secretary,
Colonial Office,
Whitehall S.W.1.

Dear Minister,

I have been asked to write to you with regard to Mr. Kidane, who is at present in a camp at Isiala, Kenya. His half-brother, Mr Gabriel Hiwet Hidar of C/o Salim Awad, (Furniture Dealer), P.O. Box 71, Khartoum, Sudan, Boma Plateau, is willing to maintain him. I am informed that these two half-brothers are the only survivors of a family, the other members having been killed in the war. I understand that Mr. Kidane himself is an educated man speaking several languages, and that he would have little difficulty in maintaining himself if he were free. In any case Mr. Hidar is willing to make himself responsible for Mr. Kidane.

I should be very glad if you would give this case your sympathetic consideration.

Yours sincerely,

Walter Henderson

2

copy to Kenya (20)

NEW TIMES AND ETHIOPIA NEWS.

"WEST DENE,"

3 CHARTERIS ROAD,
WOODFORD GREEN,
ESSEX,
ENGLAND.

ESP/DH

Telephone: BUCKhurst 2463.

13th April, 1939.

The Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P.,
Secretary of State,
The Colonial Office,
S.W.1.

Dear Mr. MacDonald,

I have heard from Mr. Gabriel ^{Kewant} Hidaru
in the Sudan pointing out to me that despite your kind promise that
his brother, Mr. Kidane, should proceed to him in the Sudan, he is
still in the camp at Isiola. Is it a question of means to transport
him that is holding up the carrying out of your kind promise?

I have recently heard from ~~the~~ a
correspondent in the Sudan that a Galla woman of 33, and a Kaffa
boy of 10, who were refugees from Ethiopia, arrived in the Sudan
and wished to proceed to Khartoum, but the British authorities
refused permission, and my informant tells me they were to be
returned to Ethiopia, where it was feared the Italians would shoot
them without mercy. My informant is a very reliable person and
I should therefore be most grateful if you would kindly inquire
into this, as I feel sure that such action would not have your
approval.

Yours sincerely,
E. Davis *Pantchurst*

copy sent to Kenya

*Atto Kidane Maasho
- see 47 m - 1/38*

46597/15/39

C. O.

Mr. *Corkin White* 27/2
Mr. *Parkin* 13 f.

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

S. 4

78

9 MAR 1939

DRAFT.

Kenya.

No. 160.

Gw.

To Sec. Abyssinian Relief Fund.
(without encs). (S. 4)

Copy sent to Kenya for
records. 49

FURTHER ACTION.

Sir

I have etc toack
the receipt of your deep
(8) No 102 of the 14th of
Feb, & to inform you
that a further gift
of £100 has been
received from the Abyssinian
Refugees Relief ^{Fund} ~~Association~~
for the to be used for the
women's & children's
clinic at Isiolo. The
Hon. Secretary of the Fund
~~Association~~ has been
thanked on your behalf
for this gift, & the
sum is being credited
to the (account) of the Kenya
Govt's with the Com

Agents.

2. ~~In acknowledging the receipt of~~
 this gift ~~the Abyssinian R - R - A - is attention~~
~~was drawn to the fact that,~~
 after taking this additional sum
 of £100 into account, the funds
 available for the relief of the
 refugees would be exhausted in
 July or August this year, &
 that your regarded continued
 expenditure of this sort as
 essential.

~~I am etc~~

I enclose a copy of the letter wh.
 has been sent to the Sec. of the Fund.

I am

(Signed) MALCOLM MacDONALD.

46597/118/39

80

C. O.

Mr. Corkin 27/2
Mr. Parkin 1/3

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

Ans'd 1/4/10
S.S.

6261 1/4 6

DRAFT.

Han. Sec.

Abyssinian Refugees Relief-
Fund.

(7)

Madam
I am etc to ack
the receipt of your cheque
for £100 to be used in
the women's & children's
clinic at the refugee camp
in Kenya. Mr MacDonald
regrets that this ~~kind~~ gift
was not earlier acknowledged,
& desires me to convey an
expression of thanks on
behalf of the Govt of
Kenya.

copy to Kenya (11)

enc to (8)

FURTHER ACTION.

I am also directed
2. This opportunity is
taken to enclose a copy
of a statement giving
details of expenditure
during 1938 of the funds
made available for the

Cpy to Kenya under dh.

relief of the Abyssinian refugees in
Kenya. It will be noted that

at the end of the year there
remained an unspent balance
of £592, which ^{is expected to} ~~will~~ be exhausted

by the 30th of June this year. ~~at the~~
~~same rate of expenditure,~~

The present gift of £100 will enable

assistance to be given to the

refugees relief to be continued for a

additional month or more. ~~whereafter~~

it will ~~presumably~~ In this connexion

I am to inform you that the Gov

of Kenya has stated that he

regards expenditure of this nature

as essential to relieve the unfortunate

position in which these refugees

are placed.

I am etc

(Signed) L. B. FREESTON

[The £100 is
for the clinic

J.P.P.)

KENYA

No. 102.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE
NAIROBI
KENYA

82

14 February, 1939.

Sir,

26/1938 file

With reference to my despatch No. 453 of the 8th August, 1938, I have the honour to forward a copy of a further statement giving details of expenditure during 1938 of funds made available for the relief of Abyssinian refugees in this Colony.

2. It will be observed that at the end of the year there remained an unspent balance of £592, and that of this £83 will be spent on Education, £325 on Milk Supply and £165 on Improvement of Nutrition during the first six months of 1939.

x | I regard expenditure of this nature as essential to relieve the unfortunate position in which these refugees are placed, and I presume that, in the event of no further grant being possible from the Abyssinian Refugees Relief Fund, you will see no objection to continued relief on the present lines being accorded when the sum available has been expended, the cost being charged in the first instance to this Government's votes pending ultimate reimbursement from Imperial funds.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

A. Brooke-Popham

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL
GOVERNOR.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE MALCOLM MACDONALD, M.P.,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES,
DOWNING STREET,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Forwarded. (11)
Copies sent to Kenyan
records. (49)

1c

STATEMENT
DEPOSITS - IMPERSONAL - ABYSSINIAN REFUGEES RELIEF FUNDS - FROM 31ST DECEMBER, 1937, TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1938.

Heads	Allocation:	Re-allocation:	Expenditure	Expenditure	Expenditure	Expenditure:	Total	Balance
	£	to 30.6.39	to 31.12.37	to 30.6.38	to 30.9.38	to 31.12.38	Expenditure.	
		£. Sh. Cts.	£. Sh. Cts.	£. Sh. Cts.	£. Sh. Cts.	£. Sh. Cts.	£. Sh. Cts.	£. Sh. Cts.
1. Handicrafts and Cultivation	225	210.18.15	62.12.33	100.06.37	30.10.45	17.09.00	210. 18. 15	
2. Education	300	278.07.63	22.16.58	154.15.41	8.10.39	9.01.35	195.03.73	83.03.90
3. Honorarium to Mrs. McKenna	64	64.00.00	64.00.00	00.00.00	00.00.00	00.00.00	64.00.00	
4. Supply of milk Feb. 1938 to June 1939	500	771.12.37	00.00.00	215.14.37	119.14.00	110.08.00	445.16.37	325.16.00
5. Expenses in connexion with milk supply.	20	20.00.50	00.00.00	20.00.50	00.00.00	00.00.00	20.00.50	
6. Household Utensils	116	111.12.00	00.00.00	111.12.00	00.00.00	00.00.00	111.12.00	
7. Improvement of Nutrition	200	200.00.00	00.00.00	00.00.00	1.09.87	33.04.14	34.14.01	165.05.99
8. Reserve	150	18.09.35	00.00.00	00.00.00	00.00.00	00.00.00	00.00.00	18.09.35
Totals	1,675	1675.00.00	149.08.91	602.08.65	160.04.71	170.02.49	1082.04.76	592.15.24

(Sd.) J.H. Lewis.

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, ISIOLO.
18th January, 1939.

Copy registered on 46011/42/29 Somaliland

58066/10/29
46011/42/29

7

THE ABYSSINIAN REFUGEES RELIEF FUND

Chairman : Sir Sidney Barton

Hon. Treasurer : F. S. Livie-Noble, Esq.

46597/13/28

84

Patrons :

The Rt. Revd. The Lord Bishop of London
The Rt. Revd. Marshall B. Lang
The Revd. J. Scott Lidgett
Sir Norman Angell
S. Vyvyan Adams
The Rt. Hon. Lord Dickinson
C. E. M. Joad
Storm Jameson
Lady Layton
F. L. Lucas
Hugh Lyon
Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence
The Revd. Prof. C. E. Raven
Mrs. Seligman
The Viscountess Snowden

All communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary:—

PC ack
w/ encl

Mrs. Hazel M. Napier,

5, Crossfield Road, London, N.W.3.

(PRImrose 4227)

15 February 1939

The Rt. Honble,
The Secretary of State for the Colonies,
Whitehall: S. W. 1.

Desr Sir;

I have much pleasure in enclosing two
cheques, respectively:—

(a) £50, fifty pounds, for children's work amongst
the Abyssinian Refugees in BRITISH SOMALILAND; and
(b) £100, one hundred pounds, for the womens' and
children's clinic in KENYA.

Your receipt for these amounts should be
sent to the Hon. Secretary.

Yours faithfully,

F. S. Livie-Noble

Hon. Treasurer

F. S. LIVIE-NOBLE

in Rm 98
safe
ansd. (10)

46597/1B/39⁶

C. O.

Mr. Cortis White 26/1
Mr. Parkin 10/2 f.

Mr.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

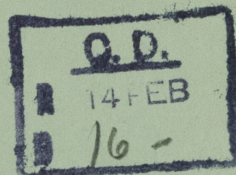
Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.



20 FEB 1939 85

Sir

With ref to your Dep No
614 of the 28th of October 1938
I have etc to transmit
a copy of a letter from
the F. O., enclosing correspondence
with H.M. Ambassador in Cairo
on the subject of the desire
of Ato. K. Maashe to
proceed to the Sudan.

2. The Editor of the "New
Times & Ethiopia News", who
is aware that the Govt of
the Sudan has is prepared
to permit Ato. K. Maashe
to enter that territory, has
asked that his journey may
be expedited as much as
possible.

I have etc -

2 DRAFTS

Kenya

No 115.

Gov

(47)
an
-/38

(1) + all encls

FURTHER ACTION.

C. O.

Mr. Conywhite 26/1

Mr. Parkin 10/2

Mr. Creasy 13/2/39 p.

Mr. A. J. Dawe.

Sir H. Moore.

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

46597/118/39

86

for Mr. ~~Creasy's~~ ^{Bord's} sig

13 Feb. 1939

Dear Madam,

2 DRAFTS

Miss E. Sylvia Parkhurst.

(3)

Mr Macdonald has asked me to write, with refⁿ to ^{your} ~~his~~ letter of the 28th Jan, to tell you that he has informed the Gov^t of Kenya of ~~his~~ your request that ~~been asked to take what~~ steps he can to expedite the journey to the Sudan of Mr. K'idari's brother = shd. be expedited.

--- yours truly

GERALD CREASY

P. Seng

FURTHER ACTION.

3

C. O.

46597/1B/39.

87

Mr. Costley White. 10/1

Mr. Paskin. 10/1

Mr. Bord 10/1/39

Mr. A. J. Datee.

X Mr. H. Moore. ✓

Sir G. Tomlinson.

Sir J. Shuckburgh.

Permt. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

X Secretary of State. 19.1.39

DRAFT. conson.

(42 on
-/37)

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST.

For Secretary of State's signature.

Downing Street.

20 January, 1939.

Thank you for your letter of
the 17th Jan. I will make further
enquiries about Mr. Hildani's brother
and will write to you again in the
near future.

~~You will remember that you
wrote to me on the 22nd October last
// as regards the
about a suggestion made by a friend of
yours for the settlement in British
Territory of a small colony of Ethiopian
refugees.~~

the news of-
I have now received news from

the Governments of Kenya and of
British Somaliland, ~~on the suggestion.~~ As
when writing
I had foreseen in my letter to you of
the 21st October, the difficulty is that
in neither of the two Territories is
suitable land available. In the Kenya
Highlands; all the land is either
occupied by
earmarked for European settlement or has
of Kenya,
been demarcated as Native Reserves or set
aside as forest; there is therefore no area
available

FURTHER ACTION.

Letter on (1)

see 21.6

40 on 37

available for a settlement scheme of the

kind which your friend has in mind. —

— And in Somaliland the position is

that climatic conditions render agriculture

there extremely precarious, and also restricted *it*

to certain very limited areas which have long

since been taken up by the Somaliland

inhabitants, who themselves have in most years

to rely largely on their livestock to eke out a

livelihood. It would thus be impossible for

practical reasons to contemplate settling any

permanently
Ethiopian families *in Somaliland*, even if the long

standing religious antipathy existing between

them and the Moslem Somalis *could* ~~can~~ be overcome.

(52) = 1938 *Ka*

(SIGNED) MALCOLM MAC DONALD.

New Times and Ethiopia News

(WEEKLY)

EDITOR - E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

17th January 1939

89

Communications to:

WEST DENE,"
CHARTERIS ROAD,
WOODFORD GREEN,
ESSEX : ENGLAND
Telephone: Buckhurst 2463

Your Ref.:

Our Ref.:

Advisory Board:

NANCY CUNARD

A. EIDENSCHENK-PATIN

General Secretary,

International League of Mothers
and Educators for Peace.

Ancien Membre

Conseil Supérieur de
l'Instruction publique.

ISABEL FRY

PHILIP HOPKINS

Chairman,

West of England
Abyssinia Association.

Dr. HUGENHOLTZ

President,

Dutch Society
for the
Liberation of Ethiopia.

F. L. LUCAS

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

Colonel MAURICE SPENCER

Rev. V. ZIAPKOFF

President,

Union of Young People's
Evangelical Associations
in Bulgaria.

Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, M.P.,
The Colonial Office,
Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. MacDonald,

I was so delighted on the 3rd December to hear
from you that Mr. Hidaru was to be joined by his brother
in the Sudan, and disappointed to learn from Mr. Hidaru
that his brother has not yet arrived.

I shall be so grateful if you could expedite
the journey. The brother is in the camp at Isola,
Kenya.

I wonder whether you have made any progress with
the question of settling the Abyssinia refugees.
My friend who is prepared to provide towards this is
very anxious to know.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

Dr.
In any further communication on this subject, please quote

No.

931/28/1

and address—not to any person by name, but to—

"The Under-Secretary of State," Foreign Office, London, S.W. 1.

Sup 7 encl

90

THE Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to the Under Secretary of State for the colonies and, by direction of the Secretary of State, transmits herewith copies of the under-mentioned papers.

Foreign Office,

5th January, 1939.

RECEIVED

8 JAN 1939

Reference to previous correspondence :

48 (1938 file) C.O. letter no 46597/13/38 of 26th Nov. 1938.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
From H.M.R Cairo no 1334 18 th Dec 1938 no 1358 22 Dec 1938	Desire of Mr Ato K. Maashe to enter the Sudan.

Copy sub. info. to Kenya (6)

Similar letter sent to

No.....1334.....
(293/28/38).

91

~~His Majesty's Ambassador~~
~~The High Commissioner for Egypt~~ presents his compliments to
His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has
the honour to transmit herewith copies of the under-mentioned paper.

CAIRO.

.....18th December....., 1938..

Reference to previous communication :

Foreign Office despatch No. 1463 (J 4403/14/1) of 1.12.38.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
From : Governor-General, Khartoum. Despatch No. 160 (93.5.19) of 5.12.38.	Desire of Ato K. Maasho to enter Sudan.

Khartoum, 5th December, 1938.

92

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to Embassy despatch No. 371 of October 24th transmitting despatch No. 1290 from the Foreign Office dated 14th October, 1938, regarding the desire of Ato K. Maasho, an Ethiopian, to join his brother in the Sudan.

2. I understand from the Frontier Agent at Boma that Gabre Hiwet Hidaru (who is Maasho's cousin, not his brother) is employed there as an Interpreter and is prepared to support Maasho until he can fend for himself.

3. Maasho served for three years as an Interpreter to the Kenya District Commissioner at Lokitaung and is known personally to Captain Whalley, who reports that he is a quiet and well-mannered man.

4. I have therefore no objection to his coming to Boma, but in view of the problematical future disposal of the Ilemi Triangle it would be as well to make it clear to him - without, of course, assigning reasons, - that any permission to reside in Boma is not necessarily a permanent one.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient Servant,

(signed) G.S. Symes.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SUDAN.

His Excellency

His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary,
The Embassy,
CAIRO.

No. 1358.

293/30/38)

93

His Majesty's Ambassador

~~The High Commissioner for Egypt~~ presents his compliments to

His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has
the honour to transmit herewith cop ies of the under-mentioned paper.

BRITISH EMBASSY,
CAIRO.

.....22nd December....., 1938...

Reference to previous communication :

Foreign Office despatch No. 1463 (J 4403/14/1) of 1.12.38.
Embassy despatch No. 1334 of 18th December.

Description of Enclosure.

Name and Date.	Subject.
FROM: Khartoum Secretariat, No. 93.J.19 of 15th December.	Desire of Mr. A.K. Maasho to join his brother in the Sudan.

COPY

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

KHARTOUM.

15th December, 1938.

93.J.19.

94

END.

Dear Chancery,

Your despatch No. 406 of December 9th referring to Ato K. Maasho crossed our despatch No. 160 of December 5th.

We do not think it is necessary to add to our previous remarks but in view of the concluding sentence of the editor's letter it might be advisable to make clear to him before he leaves that there is no prospect of his getting either employment or financial assistance from the Sudan Government and, judging by the experience of similar refugees, very little chance of his finding a post of the kind indicated anywhere in this country.

Yours ever,

SECRETARIAT.

?
encl 15
47 on
-38

? i.e. as
in C. P. M. or

Chancery,
The Embassy,
CAIRO.

1939

46597 / 1B

Italian Occupation of Ethiopia and Kenya: Treatment of Refugees and Deserters. 1939-1940. MS Refugee Records from the War Cabinet, the Colonial Office, the Home Office and the War Office, 1935-1949 CO 822/99/12. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Refugees, Relief, and Resettlement, link.gale.com/apps/doc/AHROOR744557936/RRRW?u=omni&sid=bookmark-RRRW&pg=1. Accessed 2 Jan. 2025.